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Attack of the Thralliers, on the 10th of August, 1792. Sketched by an Eye Witness.
Published by R. Phillips, Aug^r 30th 1798.

BIOGRAPHICAL
ANECDOTES
OF THE *Notables*
FOUNDERS
OF THE
FRENCH REPUBLIC,
AND OF OTHER
EMINENT CHARACTERS,
WHO HAVE DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES
IN THE PROGRESS OF THE
REVOLUTION.

VOL. II.

LONDON;

PRINTED FOR R. PHILLIPS,
AND SOLD BY MR. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD;
AND MR. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY.

1798.



CRITICAL OPINIONS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF THESE

ANECDOTES.

“ WE have only to observe on the present volume, that it is generally written with an elegance and vivacity of style which are peculiarly pleasing ; that the Anecdotes are mingled with many judicious and sensible reflections ; that the politics are free, but temperate ; that the estimate of characters is apparently impartial ; and that it abounds with the most interesting and entertaining matter. About a hundred and thirty characters are sketched in this popular volume, and a very useful chart is prefixed of the proscriptions of parties in France from that of the Brissotines in June, 1793, to that of the Royalists in September, 1797.”

Analytical Review, Nov. 1797, p. 469.

“ This very amusing collection of original Anecdotes has anticipated by its sale the necessity of our tardy approbation : it will suffice if we select some passages, that are characteristic of the spirit of the work, and of such men as are likely to preserve a perpetual importance after the foam of the Revolution shall have subsided.”

Monthly Review, Dec. 1797, p. 365.

“ We can promise to our readers, whatever their political principles may be, considerable amusement and information from this volume, which contains anecdotes of above one hundred and thirty of the most eminent persons who have “strutted and fretted their day” upon the grand theatre of French politics. The author appears to have taken great pains to collect materials from the best sources.”

Critical Review, May, 1798, p. 120.

ERRATA.

Page. line.

- 19 28 For them, read it.
- 23 26 for adherent, read adherents.
- 24 23 dele comma after the word seldom.
- 25 31 dele the word le.
- 32 read la peine la plus severe.
- 27 22 for parts, read parties.
- 40 9 for indissolable, read indissoluble.
- 46 15 for assemble, read assemblée.
- 53 5 for Plebian, read Plebeian.
- 78 24 for par, read pas.
- 85 25 for decision, read division.
- 86 6 for sacrificed, read sacrificed.
- N. B. Dele the two last lines in the life of Vilate, and in their room read, "He preserved his life for a considerable time by accusing his coadjutors, but was executed at length with the sanguinary public accuser, the judges, and elevenjurymen, viz. on the 17th of Floreal, the 3d year of the Republic (or 8th of May, 1795, of our calander)."
- 104 16 for carring, read carrying.
- 106 13 after the word sentence, put a semicolon.
- 111 21 for Bariere, read Barriere.
- 121 24 for athletetick, read athletic.
- 143 27 for 1792, read 1791.
- 168 18 for parted, read we set out.
- 19 for *we parted*, read we set out.
- 185 25 for emply, read employ.
- 233 20 after the word accompanied, read them.
- 244 11 for Lord Kepple, read Lord Keppel.
- 254 8 for vows, read prayers.
- 265 24 for whether, read whither.
- 283 13 for Clavieres, read Clavierre.
- 284 12 for Clavieres, read Clavierre.
- 354 1 for 8th Fructidor, read 18th Fructidor.
- 362 17 for Bumont, read Dumont.
- 389 26 for 2d Germinal, read 12th of Germinal.
- 399 29 for Bariallon, read Baraillon.
- 419 23 for hydography, read hydrography.
- 420 6 for *Puy de Drôme*, read *Puy de Dôme*.
- 440 5 for perish, read perish.
- 443 17 for opeate, read operate.
- 454 9 for evening of the execution, read evening before the execution.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Book binder will observe, that there will be a final omission of the pages from 175 to 182, and from 247 to 252. The view should face the title, and the map page opposite the Contents.

P R E F A C E.

THE First Volume of these ANECDOTES having experienced a very favourable reception, and been translated into several foreign languages, the Editor feels himself encouraged to present a SECOND VOLUME to the Public.

He has been indebted for materials in this, as in the former Volume, chiefly to the communications of various intelligent Foreigners, several of whom were actors in the scenes they have described. The fascinating and almost romantic article respecting LOUVET, and the no less interesting and tragical one under the head LAZARE, were of course only to be supplied from their own published memoirs: the Editor conceives he shall not incur the censure of any reader, for having preserved in this permanent form, two such exceedingly curious documents.—The truly able and original article respecting BRIS-SOT was drawn up by an English Gentleman whose name has long been deservedly respect-

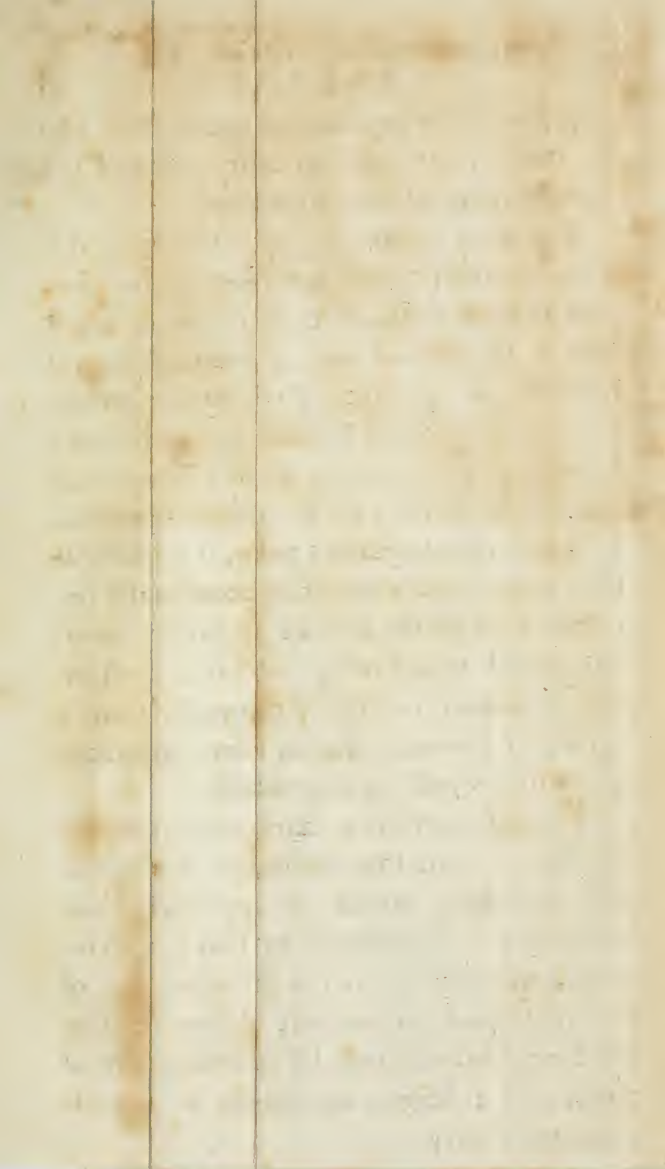
respected in the republic of letters, and who for many years was the intimate friend and correspondent of that great man.

The lives of **BRISSET**, **CONDORCET**, **MIRABEAU**, and **LOUVET** are given in the present Volume although their names occurred also in the former one; a comparison, will however, evince, that these prime articles have in this second Volume been composed from sources at once new and valuable, and that there does not exist any useless repetition.

Notwithstanding much pains, it is probable that a fastidious critic may occasionally detect in some of the articles an exotic idiom; the candid reader will, however, consider, that in a work necessarily composed from a variety of communications, some inequalities in the style would be unavoidable.

In respect to errors in dates, or in points of fact, if such should be discovered, the Editor will thankfully attend to any corrections which may be transmitted to him; in extenuation of these, as well as the other sins of the whole work, he can only observe, that he has been actuated solely by an ardent love of truth, and a sincere attachment to a well-regulated liberty.

London, August 28th, 1798.



A MAP OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC 1798.



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FOUNDERS,

OF THE

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

JEAN PIERRE BRISSOT,

WAS born on the 14th of January 1754, at Chartres, the capital of the territory of the *Chartraine* and *Beauce*, now included in the department of Eure. His father was a *traiteur*, supplying individuals or families with dinners at their own apartments, and acquired considerable wealth, with an unimpeached character.

After receiving a good education, both at school and at college, Brissot was sent to Paris to pursue his preparatory studies, and was afterwards placed with an *avocat*, or counsellor in parliament. But taking an aversion to the profession of the law, and applying the money destined for a proficiency in it, to the study of general literature; he disobliged his father, who, being superstitious, and influenced by his eldest son, withdrew his usual supplies.

He then bore the name, or title of *de Ouarville*, from that of a small property at a little distance from Chartres, which had been destined for him by his father. He afterwards changed it into *de Warville*, by substituting the English *W* for the *Ou*! from an
early

early partiality to England, which he then idolized as the land of liberty.

It was probably that partiality which improved a slight acquaintance into an intimacy and marriage with Mademoiselle Dupont, who was employed by Madame Genlis, as reader to the princess, her pupil. The mother of Mademoiselle Dupont, kept a lodging-house at Boulogne, frequented principally by the English; some of whom the daughters had occasionally accompanied into England; they had thus acquired a knowledge of the English language, and an acquaintance with several intelligent quakers.

In his English enterprize, Mr. Burke, with a disregard to truth, which would disgrace a libeller in the garrets of St. Giles, represents him as employed by the government and the police, as a spy and thief-taker; and accuses him with having been a pick-pocket!

Brissot, who was not without failings, had none, which could impeach the most delicate integrity. He was honest and disinterested to a degree, which, to Burke, hackneyed in the paltry intrigues and debasing hopes of factious parties, must have been incredible.

At the time he became united to Miss Dupont, instead of availing himself of her interest to obtain some situation in the purlieus of the court or the *Palais Royal*, he detached her from her engagement, relied on his literary talents for their future support, and determined to make England the theatre of his utility and fame.

He was then printing his work, *De la Verité*, which, though not masterly or abounding with new truths,

truths, was the idol of his heart, and the basis on which he wished to rest his reputation, if his friends had exerted a sufficient degree of complaisance to read it. He had also commenced an abridgment of treatises on "Criminal Law," but did not select them with sufficient discrimination.

Those productions, which in the manner of all young authors, he considered as a *future fortune*, he carried with him to Boulogne, in his way to England.

There, his finances failing, and seeing no great probability of assistance from his wife's family, he incautiously fell into a snare, by listening to proposals from the proprietors and managers of the *Courier De la Europe*.

That connection did not long continue, from the discordant principles of the parties, and Brissot, having warmed his imagination, by some conversations with philosophers and quakers in England, conceived and commenced one of those benevolent extravagancies, for which he was always distinguished.

Almost unknown in any part of the world, and particularly in England; at the age of three or four and twenty, learning the elements of knowledge, and with only a small sum of money furnished by an associate who relied on his talents; he announced in 1782, a plan of correspondence and association of all the friends of literature and liberty throughout Europe; and took a house in
Newman

Newman Street, where the central committee was to hold its sittings !

That effort making no impression on the public, unless it occasioned a smile by its extravagance ; he commenced a periodical work, on the Literature, Arts, and Politics of England.

In some difficulties attending that undertaking, he availed himself of the acquaintance of the *Rev. Mr. Gardnor*, vicar of Battersea, to be introduced to *David Williams*, who had been some time in Mr. Gardnor's neighbourhood, occupied by peculiar plans or experiments, on the education of youth.

It may be observed, in the first number of his *Annales*, where he mentions his new acquaintance, *Williams*, that he bids adieu to his former creed, from Montequieu and Blackstone, and avows his attachment to the principles developed in *Letters on Political Liberty*, which he afterwards, by his assiduities with Mirabeau and Sieyes, rendered in a great degree, the principles of the first French constitution.

Assisted by an expatriated marquis Pelleport, he translated that pamphlet, and had the indiscretion to permit notes to be added relating to the court of France.

De Morande seduced his associate into France ; and *Brissot* happening at the time to be at Boulogne on a short visit to his mother-in-law, they were both conveyed to the Bastille.

His family in England, by that event, was plunged into the deepest distress. The person who had em-

barked

barked with him in the literary undertaking, and had furnished the money, took possession of the house and furniture ; groundless and malignant imputations were diffused respecting the views and character of Brissot ; and the authors of his misfortunes, who had betrayed him into the hands of power, joined the general clamour, and, as usual, covered their turpitude with the mask of zeal for integrity and honour.

In that situation a few persons only were at the trouble to perceive the truth, and to afford succour and consolation to the family of Brissot.

Madame Brissot (then Madame de Warville) recollecting the former patronage of the house of Orleans, as the only probable refuge, hastened to France, and threw herself at the duke's feet, who interested himself so effectually, that Brissot was admitted to the usual trial on such occasions, which consisted merely of an examination by the officers of state ; and was discharged on condition he should never reside in England, and should discontinue his Political Review.

The duke de Orleans who cherished the dispositions then arising in France, to discuss and censure the measures of government, beheld in Brissot an instrument for his purpose ; made him secretary in his chancery, placed him under the direction of the marquis Du Crest, his chancellor, and brother to Madame Genlis, who was at that time, the heroine of the political drama at the *Palais Royal*.

Brissot

Brissot was, for some time, supremely happy in that situation. He had an income far beyond his wants, amounting nearly to five hundred louis a year, he was in the confidence of the political cabal which then exhibited no symptoms of its future atrocity, and within the limits prescribed him, he built as many castles in the air as his heart desired. But all limits were galling chains on his imagination ; and in proportion as American events propagated the sounds of freedom, he sickened for America, as the only land of liberty and happiness.

Brissot, though wholly destitute of the rich and captivating imagery of eloquence, had an ardour and vivacity which were wonderfully seductive ; he had also in every thing the inimitable air of the purest integrity ; he therefore easily prevailed on several of his acquaintance to form a common stock, and to depute him to America, to fix on a district, to be purchased by the society, where a colony of Frenchmen, with all their moral and social habits, were to be organised into a republick, on the ideas of the British Alfred, as illustrated to him by his English master.

His travels in America, are known from his publications. But it is not equally known that, in 1788, returning through England secretly, on account of his engagements with his own government, he consulted his "oracle," as he called him, who told Brissot he had viewed America only as a visitor ;

tor; that it might be seen by the conduct of Franklin and others that the state of society there would not suit a cultivated European; that Calonne and Necker, who contended for power, agreed in measures which insured a revolution in France; and that France would soon open a theatre for his activity and love of glory.

He instantly formed the determination of devoting his talents to France, which he strongly expressed to the friend * who accompanied him to his Mentor, and though he afterwards frequently differed with that Mentor, he adhered to his resolution to the hour of his death.

Brissot first carried into France the idea of *organizing* a community, by forming deputations, and deputations of deputations, to produce a general will. It is an extension and improvement of the plan of the British Alfred.

But though Europe has been sickened with the words *organizing* and *organization*, events have proved, that Brissot and his successors, in the formation of several French constitutions, have never thoroughly comprehended the ideas of Alfred, or the theory derived from them by his English interpreter.

The novelty of those ideas in France, threw a lustre around Brissot, which his abilities and know-

* Mr. B——, who is said to be preparing a Life of Brissot for a respectable periodical work.

ledge were not afterwards able to support. When the approach and formation of the states-general threw off the restraints of the press, he was distinguished among the writers who drew publick attention, and consulted by the principal leaders, on the principles and measures to be adopted; and when it became necessary to render Paris active, he reduced his English theory to practice; it was organized into sections intimately connected and formed into a regulated power: and when that power had forced and taken the Bastille, the keys of the fortress were carried in triumph to his lodgings.

From that moment, Brissot's character assumed a new form, in which a benevolent, but intoxicated ambition took the lead. On the removal of the Breton club from Versailles to the Jacobin monastery at Paris, the keys of the Bastille conveyed him to its presidency, and feeling early symptoms of force in that astonishing club, he perceived it to be the readiest instrument to obtain the first honours of the revolution.

Warned from England of obvious dangers from the power of that club and its affiliations, he renounced his first and best acquaintance, by a long silence, and used his utmost efforts by his newspaper, called *Patriot François*, and by pamphlets, to exchange individual correspondence, for that of French and English societies. Having some acquaintance with several members of those societies, in both kingdoms, he acquired great influence by that

that manœuvre, and at the dissolution of the states-general, he had insured his election into the legislative assembly.

In that assembly, Brissot, although neither an orator nor a statesman, greatly distinguished himself by an unceasing jealousy of the court, by the introduction of the strongest provisions in behalf of liberty, from the English and American constitutions, and by the art which he had learned from his unsuccessful enterprizes, of drawing around him men of superiour talents and knowledge. He thus formed the party of the Girondists, consisting of the deputies of La Gironde ; and was allowed in practical measures to take the lead of Condorcet, Guadet, Roland, Claviere, Gensonnè, &c. men of superiour learning, knowledge, and talents. In that situation, the court assailed his character and integrity ; and the memoirs of M. Bertrand de Molleville, leave the incautious reader in doubt concerning his integrity. But if M. Bertrand could have fixed the stain unequivocally, he would assuredly have done it. There are many persons now living, of at least equal reputation with M. Bertrand, who knew, that during the spirited animadversions of Brissot, on the cabals at court, which he denominated *Austrian Committees*, a hundred thousand livres were tendered as the price of either his silence or his friendship ; and that living in a garret, into which he ascended by four flights of stairs, and having a wife and three children, depending on his stipend as deputy, and the

C

trifling

trifling produce of his newspaper, he declined the offer without noise or ostentation.

While the probability remained, that the constitution would be established, he attempted a renewal of his former correspondence in England, to obtain information on the administration of our laws; and it is said he procured some hints on that subject from *Mr. Jeremiah Bentham*. But, not being fully satisfied, he endeavoured to recover the friendship of his former counsellor, and sent *Pethion* to be instructed in the general forms and practice of the administration of English jurisprudence.

Pethion, however, thought himself above the necessity of taking much trouble. He received written directions respecting the courts, and the necessary explanations to comprehend the nature of their institutions, their practice, and their abuses. He once attended at the Old Bailey, and spent the rest of his time at the meetings of the revolution society.

In the mean time Brissot, by his influence in the Jacobin club, was making rapid acquisitions of political power. So destitute was the ruling party of the talents of statesmen, that the very slight knowledge he had obtained of England, Holland, and America, gave him the principal direction of the diplomatic and military committees of the assembly; and when the club, by its influence in the legislature, crushed the King's ministers in succession, Louis sent to Brissot, desiring he would nominate ministers agree-

agreeable to the society, and Roland, Claviere, Servan, &c. were actually nominated by him.

The means of introducing Dumouriez are not known to the writer of this sketch; but it was an error fatal to the revolution, as it changed its nature and character.

Dumouriez, who had more of the good and evil talents of a statesman than all the other ministers, and to whom Brissot was for some time a complete dupe, diverted the publick mind from a gradual and improving attention to national institutions, and aroused its latent but habitual passion for war.

Under the direction of Dumouriez, Brissot collected the force of the Girondists, who inflamed the assembly against the emigrants and their protectors, and induced an immediate declaration of war against Austria. By that measure the great object of the French revolution, the establishment of a just and equitable constitution, was lost, or suspended, and is not to be recovered, probably, by the present generation.

The military character controuling and obliterating the moral, the efforts of true philosophy became secondary and occasional, and France directed her proceedings by the fluctuating spirit of war.

Brissot was certainly a votary of true Philosophy, whenever he heard her voice, or clearly understood her principles: but those principles were not familiar to his mind; they were not always of his own acquisition; and the simplicity and integrity of his

heart induced him to confide in others with blind credulity.

The first fruits of the war were the atrocities of the 2d and 3d of September 1792, which appalled the spirit of Brissot; for though he retired in disgust from the Jacobin club, he did not demand and procure the punishment of the authors of those atrocities, who soon improved impunity into a claim of dominion. Even on the celebrated 10th of August he was not a principal; and in all the vigorous and dreadful movements which the disposition to war had generated, Brissot only acquiesced when they seemed to favour the cause of liberty.

At every practicable interval, he united his efforts with those of the Girondists to form the public mind into a disposition for order and regulated liberty, and to devise such institutions as would promote those ends: but the song of War had deafened the nation to all other sounds, and his remaining struggles with various temporary successes were in a tempest which he had assisted to create, and which has overturned or menaced all the institutions of Europe.

In the suspension and dethronement of the King, and in the proclamation of a republic, Brissot assisted with zeal and alacrity: and the idea of a CONVENTION, paramount to all legislatures, was first given by him; but it was of English importation; it was the *mycle-gemot* of Alfred, with a modern name; it was the Saxon assembly, which tried
kings,

kings*, and approved or condemned the acts of legislation.

But that idea, like all the others hastily adopted in France at the time, was not fully understood, and the Convention became a despot, a legislature, a court of justice, a magistrate of police,—a many-headed monster, which nearly desolated the country that produced it.

In the two general objects of the convention, the trial of the King, and the establishment of the constitution, Brissot was active and zealous, until he perceived the Jacobins, led by Marat, Robespierre, &c. were trampling on all forms and principles of justice, had declared for the death of Louis, whatever might be the result of enquiry and trial, and were prepared to transfer the despotism of a military government from the King and Nobles, to a few demagogues supported by an armed and desperate populace.

He eagerly sought assistance, at home and abroad, to form a constitution, that the convention might be dissolved; but he sought it too late. He also wished to save the King; but his wishes were too late.

The unnecessary sacrifice of Louis, in spite of an intimidated majority of the Convention, discouraged the party of Brissot, and heightened the horrible audacity of the Jacobins; who, drawing over to them Pache, the minister of war, embarrassed the Generals

* *Vide* Letters on Political Liberty, printed by Evans in the Strand, and reprinted by Ridgway.

and armies, and, by disgusting Dumouriez into perfidy, and misleading other commanders into defeat, involved the ruling party in deep disgrace, and conducted its leaders to the scaffold.

The violences preparatory to that event were not coloured with the usual pretensions of justice. The Girondists held the sceptre they had wrested from Louis, with trembling hands; surrounded with a national guard of fifty thousand men, they shrunk at the howl of MARAT and his ragged myrmidons; they suffered the Jacobins to fraternise with Bands of banditti, discarded servants, smugglers, &c. who sought bread and shelter in Paris. Crimes were committed in progressive enormity, as experiments on their fears; and suspicion and contempt succeeded the respect and confidence with which the public had regarded their talents and virtues.

They were therefore implicated as criminals in all the misfortunes of their country; and Brissot, as the supposed leader, was held amenable for the consequences of the war with England, for the defeats and perfidies of Dumouriez, and all the calamities of France during the administration of the ministers which he had originally appointed.

It is not necessary, at this time, to exonerate the memory of Brissot from these imputations.

The war with England he deemed impossible, until the conduct of the English ministry rendered it inevitable. His credulity had relied on the declarations of the missionaries of English societies, and particularly on those of Thomas Paine, that hostilities
against

against the French revolution would produce a civil war. He pronounced it as his decided opinion that the first body of English troops directed against France would be followed, hostilely, by sixty thousand of the revolutionists and republicans of England.

He was, as usual, stunned when the event approached, with an unequivocal character of determined hostility, so contrary to his expectations. He saw in it the prognostics of the fate of his party; and when he had read the opinion of the committee, on which the Convention declared war by acclamation, his hair literally stood on end, and he left the tribune with strong symptoms of despondency and horror.

In all his political conduct, no just imputation can be laid on his integrity. His errors were numerous, and his impetuosity blameable; but his intentions were always honest and pure. When all forms of law, government, and justice were dissipated by violence—when the Convention surrendered him and his associates to an armed banditti, his behaviour was calm and collected. While confined, as he was at first, to his own house, he made his escape, and had nearly reached Switzerland, but was retaken and committed to prison.

Though his imprisonment was close and severe, and attended with many insulting and cruel circumstances, he bore them with the temper and resolution of innocence; and when he accompanied one and twenty victims to the scaffold, most of them his dear

and excellent friends, his deportment was firm and calm; he saw sixteen perish before him; and in a torrent of innocent blood he submitted to his cruel fate, crying out with his last breath—"May the Republick be preserved!"

Brisset was rather short in stature, and stooped a little in the shoulders. He was slight in his frame; but tolerably proportioned; his features, particularly his eyes, were lively and expressive of talents and good nature.

In private life he was affectionate, honourable, and just; an indulgent husband and father, and a sincere and warm friend.

As a scholar and a man of knowledge, he was not of the first order; he attempted every thing, but was not a deep or correct proficient in any province of learning or science.

As a politician, his heart was better directed than his head: he wanted knowledge of mankind. His reason was therefore misled by his imagination; and his credulity and reliance on the pretensions of others rendered him totally unfit for any important share in the administration of national business.

He adopted a system, without sufficient examination; and when it failed, his remedy was to adopt another, instead of profoundly penetrating the character and circumstances of his country, and deriving a practicable and effectual system from that only useful source. For this high and sublime duty he certainly possessed not the necessary genius; and it
I proved

proved to France a real misfortune; for he, at one time, possessed both the power and the inclination to render it important services.

From the dissolution of the monarchy, in August 1792, to Jan. 19, 1793, when Louis was condemned, Brissot was, in effect, King of France, without any of the great talents which commonly lead to such power, or direct a man to exercise it, either to his own glory or to the general advantage of his country.

He failed, not by the general giddiness of sudden elevation: the iron sceptre, which the revolution held out to him, he had not the heart to wield. The Jacobins perceived his scruples and his timidity; precipitated him from his elevation; and crushed France with the power which should only have awed her into order, peace, and liberty.

LIEUT.-GENERAL HAYDYN.

I knew Mr. Haydyn in London, he was then about twenty-six years of age, and lived in an obscure lodging in Newport-street, near St. Martin's-lane.

He was a Westphalian by birth, but spoke English admirably, considering that he was a foreigner who had not visited this country until he had arrived at man's estate.

The American war opened an ample field to adventurers of all kinds, and Germany poured forth her mercenary squadrons at the bidding of the English

lish government, which squandered the wealth of the nation in order to enslave its colonies. Haydyn served with the foreign troops, rose to the rank of Lieutenant *, and when the war was concluded, he returned to Britain on half-pay.

It was at this period I met him, and the first time I saw him was during a visit to the Baron de Grothouse, who then resided at Chesterfield house. The Baron was a Hanoverian, and had been Aide-de-Camp to the present King of Great Britain.

Haydyn and he came from different parts of Germany, but they considered each other as countrymen, and even as friends, here. They were fated, however, to embark in opposite schemes of life, to adopt a different line of politicks, and even to fight against each other.

Haydyn, ashamed perhaps of having served against, in order to oppress the Americans, determined to support the cause of liberty in Holland. He accordingly took part with the Dutch against the Stadtholder. The contest, however, proved unfortunate, for the Duke of Brunswick, at the head of a body of chosen troops marched to the confines of the *Zuyder Zee*, and gave law to the Hollanders by means of Prussian bayonets.

The Baron de Grothouse, who was a singular character, served in the Duke of Brunswick's army, and actually attacked and carried a Dutch fort, by

* I have been informed that he entered as a private, a circumstance not uncommon for men of reputable families in Germany.

means of a body of volunteer cavalry. The most surprising part of the story however is this; the Baron actually made the charge on foot, and kept up, and entered with the horse*.

On that occasion Haydyn was obliged to yield to superiour fortune, and became the prisoner of his intimate acquaintance the Baron de Grothouse.

France about this time opened her arms to the distressed patriots of every country. She was about to contend for liberty, independence, nay even for her existence as a nation; she consequently felt a congenial spirit with the oppressed of all nations, and became particularly interested in behalf of the Dutch emigrants.

A large body of them was accordingly levied under the name of the BATAVIAN LEGION, and it must be owned that they have served the republick with great and uncommon fidelity.

Haydyn was one of the most zealous officers in this corps, and having distinguished himself repeatedly, rose from step to step, until he obtained one of the highest ranks in the French service.

Along with the Dutch troops he entered Holland, fought several bloody skirmishes, crossed the Waal on the ice, during a winter uncommonly severe, drove out the adherent of the Stadholder, and Batavia once more assumed the name of a republick.

* I heard this anecdote of my old friend from a young Prussian officer, who was present on the occasion and witnessed the manœuvre.

Haydyn of course profited by the good fortune of the French and the gallant conduct of his own legion, for he is now a Lieutenant-General, although he is not yet 40 years of age.

BARBAROUX.

Had the *Girondists* obliged the party of the *Mountain* to succumb, and thus prevented all the horrors that ensued after their own fall, this young man would have acted a very conspicuous part under the republican government. But he was snatched away in the prime of life, and we have scarcely any thing to record concerning him, but his talents and his misfortunes.

Barbaroux was born at Marseilles, originally a Greek colony; and to the impetuous spirit of the inhabitants of the south of France, he seems to have added that zealous attachment to the cause of liberty which characterised the first founders of his native city.

Having become intimate with Roland, in 1792, in consequence of the troubles in the south, he supported his plans of government; but out of a certain degree of delicacy, he visited him but seldom, after the latter had become minister of the home department, for he was accustomed to observe, "that the integrity of a representative of the people, like Cæsar's wife, should be unsuspected."

Barbaroux had great influence with the *Marseillois* in Paris, and by their means protected his friend
Roland,

Roland, when his house was assailed by a mob, in consequence of the intrigues of the Jacobins.

As a deputy for the department of *Bouches-du-Rhône*, he was the declared enemy of the *Robespierrian* faction, and on the 5th October 1791, when the accusation against its chief was got rid of, by "the order of the day," divesting himself of the character of a representative of the people, he appeared at the bar as a petitioner and accuser.

Being attached to a democratical form of government, he was also the open foe of the duke of Orleans, and repeatedly denounced him as a man aiming at the throne.

When the assembly had resolved to enquire into the misconduct of the king, it was he who presented the catalogue of his supposed crimes. On the trial he boasted that he had co-operated in the downfall of the throne, and protested that "the tyrant was odious to him;" but notwithstanding this he voted for *the appeal to the people* *.

* "Le serment que j'ai prêté dans l'assemblée électorale des Bouches-du-Rhône, de juger à mort Louis Capet, n'exclût pas la sanction du peuple : je vote donc pour cette sanction, parce qu'il est tems que le peuple des 84 départemens exerce sa Souveraineté, et qu'il écrase, par la manifestation de sa volonté suprême, une faction au milieu de laquelle je vois Philippe d'Orleans, et que je dénonce à la république, en me vouant avec tranquillité aux poignards des assassins."

J'ajoute que, comme dans des tems orageux l'homme n'est pas sûr de vivre le lendemain, je dois à moi-même, déclarer, que le tyran m'est odieux ; que j'ai fortement coopéré à le renverser du trône, et que je prononcerai contre lui la peine la plus veng. Je dis : OUI."

On the 31st of May, 1793, Barbaroux was included among the proscribed Brissotines, and arrested in Paris, but he found means to escape from his keepers, and flying to Caen, assisted Gorsas, and several other representatives, in organizing the insurgent departments in the west.

Having soon discovered, however, that Wimpfen and Puitsaye, wished them to negotiate with England, and that the new constitution was accepted even by the primary assemblies of the insurgent departments, Barbaroux, Louvet, Pethion, Guadet, &c. repaired with a battalion of Bretons, to Dol, with an intention of reaching Quimper, and procuring a passage to Bourdeaux, which still defied the power and the threats of the *mountain*.

On the road Barbaroux was seized with the small-pox, but being carefully concealed and tenderly nursed, he recovered and rejoined his companions in the department of the *Gironde*.

They soon learned, however, that Bourdeaux had been subdued by their enemies, and that all their friends were either arrested or driven into exile. In this unhappy dilemma, they were obliged for their own preservation, to betake themselves to instant flight, and after crossing the Dordogne in a ferry boat, with a detachment of cavalry at their heels, they found it absolutely necessary to divide, in order to escape the pursuit of the enemy.

On this occasion, Barbaroux and Valady joined Louvet; the former was to pass for a professor of strategy, in which science he was eminently skillful

skilful, and his companions for two merchants, travelling along with him, in order to speculate on the mines he might discover ! This story, however, on reflection, appearing too absurd to acquire any degree of credibility, they threw themselves on the humanity of a constitutional priest, who afforded them shelter for several days.

At the end of that period they were obliged to take refuge in a hay-loft, where, being exposed to want, and continually afraid of detection, Barbaroux resolved to put an end to his life ; but he was prevented by one of his friends, who by recalling the image of his fond and venerable mother, saved him from despair.

At length Louvet determined to brave all dangers, and repair by himself to the capital *. On

D 2

this,

* “ Nous touchions cependant à l’époque critique. Il venoit de luire le jour fatal, le jour d’une séparation longue, et peut-être éternelle entre des hommes à jamais étroitement liés par tout ce que l’amitié tendre, la vertu pure, et une infortune vraiment sainte ont de plus respectable. Nous sortions de notre asyle ; nous nous séparions en deux parts, qui se subdiviseroient bientôt.

Barbaroux qui, depuis Caën, avoit couru presque toutes les mêmes aventures que moi ; Barbaroux désolé de me quitter autant que je l’étois de le perdre, passoit du côté de Buzot et de Pethion.

Tous trois ils alloient à quelques lieues de-là, vers la mer, chercher un asyle incertain ; avec quelle douleur nous nous fîmes nos adieux ! pauvre Buzot, il emportoit au fond du cœur des chagrins bien amers, que, je connoissois seul, et que je ne dois jamais révéler. Mais Pethion, le tranquille Pethion, comme il étoit déjà changé ! combien le calme de son ame, & la sérénité de sa figure s’étoit altérés, depuis que l’esclavage de sa patrie n’étoit plus douteux,

this, Barbaroux, associating with Buzot and Pethion, resolved to travel towards the sea coast, in order to obtain sustenance, and if possible to effect their escape.

Their adventures from this moment are unknown. Certain it is, however, that they were exposed to fresh calamities, whence Barbaroux was at length extricated, by a comparatively merciful death: for having been seized, he was carried to Bourdeaux, and there executed.

Barbaroux was a tall young man, about six feet French measure, in height. His person and his mind were equally accomplished. He was a zealot of liberty, and so firmly was he attached to a government by a commonwealth, that he had formed the project, in case the north of France should be subdued by the combined powers, to erect the south into a republick!

DUPHOZ,

Was originally of German extraction, and being of a sanguine temperament, betook himself to the profession of arms. It was his good fortune to serve

douteux, depuis que la nouvelle de l'emprisonnement des soixante-quinze & du supplice de nos amis, nous étoit parvenue. Et mon cher Barbaroux, comme il suffroit ! Je n'oublierai point ses dernières paroles : *en quelques lieux que tu trouves ma mère, tâche de lui tenir lieu de son fils ; je te promets de n'avoir point une ressource que je ne partage avec ta femme, si le hasard veut que je la rencontre jamais.*"

Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire Par J. B. Louvet.

with

with Buonaparte, and to distinguish himself on several memorable occasions. Under such a commander, this was a sufficient recommendation, and we accordingly find him, although a very young man, advancing rapidly to the rank of general.

No sooner was the vaunting project of *an army of England* conceived, than he was pointed out, on account of his intrepidity and knowledge, as a proper person to command the brigades of grenadiers. The interval between his nomination and the period of action, was consecrated to love.

He accordingly repaired to Rome, renewed his addresses to the sister of Madame Buonaparte, the wife of the ambassador of that name, and was on the point of being married to her, an early day having been fixed for this purpose, when an event occurred that changed the fate of Italy, and put a period to all his own schemes respecting both war and matrimony.

Early in 1797, a sedition took place, and was quelled at Rome. This was considered by some as an *Italian artifice*, in order to give vent to the popular resentment, in such a manner as not to endanger the state. Another cloud being likely to obscure the capitol; fresh conductors to draw off the electric matter, are said to have been found in the persons of a *few* of the creatures of government. The experiment at first appeared to promise success, but it has occasioned the subversion not only of the metropolis, but of all the secular dominions of the Holy See.

On the 9th Nivose, which answers to December 29th 1797, a crowd having assembled before the hotel.

of the embassy of France, the people were requested to retire by the secretary and other officers of the household. A detachment of the Pope's guards soon after made its appearance, and even occupied the court-yard. On this, the minister, Buonaparte, having clothed himself in his official robe and scarf, commanded the troops to retire, and threatened them with vengeance if they did not respect "the palace of the republick." Duphoz accustomed to a military life, in which he had braved every danger with impunity, rushed among the soldiery, and begged them to desist. But it was no longer the brave Germans, but the degenerate Italians that he had now to contend with, and accordingly, he is said to have been basely and deliberately assassinated.

The cruelty of the Venetian government to the French troops in their hospitals, afforded a pretext to erase that state from the list of independent nations, and the conduct of the Roman government gave but too fair an opportunity for a victorious nation, to alter the destiny of Rome, and give a new master to a city that once swayed the sceptre of the world *.

* It would be unfair to omit that the popular commotion at Rome has been attributed to the arts of the French Ambassador: it seems more likely, however, that the French only profited by so favourable an opportunity, to satiate their love of dominion.

GUINGUENÉ,

Better known for his literary than his legislative talents, is one of the many men of letters in France who have distinguished themselves by their writings in favour of liberty, and their actions in support of the revolution. Like them too, he entertains a veneration, nearly bordering on idolatry, for the memory of Rousseau.

“Genius is avenged!” he exclaims, “the French nation has vindicated itself in the face of Europe! it has decreed a statue to the author of the Social Contract, and enacted that his widow shall be maintained at the expence of the state. This recompence, after the ancient style, is at once worthy of a people to whom the ancients are no longer a source of envy, since they have become free; and of a great man who was the object of despotick persecution, only because he endeavoured to recall nations to the enjoyment of their primeval liberty.

“I offer my mite of incense at the foot of his statue. Shall science, of which he has been so distinguished an ornament, although he has declaimed so much against it—shall science be mute in his praise, after a revolution so propitious to his glory? Long before our legislators had decreed him publick honours, they had already adopted the greater part of his principles, and frequently mentioned his name with respect: our artists had almost exhausted their industry, in erecting monuments for him; our patriotick

triotick youth had carried his effigy in triumph around the ruins of that Bastille which, but for his efforts, perhaps would have been yet standing!

“ This is not the only homage they have paid him. On receiving intelligence of the event, a company of young men, who had associated under the interesting title of *Friends to the Instructor of Emilius*, unanimously entered into the following resolutions:

“ 1st. That the decree of the national assembly be perpetuated on a column of marble. And, 2dly, That a deputation of six youths repair to Ermenonville, in the isle of Poplars, the resting-place of this man of truth and nature, to fix the engraved decree at the entrance of his mausoleum, and place a bough of olive, and a crown of laurel on his tomb!”

Guinguené, along with Marmontel; since dead, and Delille, Ducis, and Fontaine, has been appointed a professor of *Belles Lettres* in *les Ecoles Centrales* of Paris. The way they were chosen must be confessed to have been truly novel: it was by means of a jury, who selected them from the other candidates.

Guinguené is well aware of the importance of his new office in a commonwealth, and there is little doubt but that this enlightened instructor will endeavour to render his disciples virtuous and able citizens.

GENERAL POGGÉ.

Ostend of course participated in the fate of the rest of Austrian Flanders, and yielded to the arms of France. The enemy entered the country in every possible direction, some by land, some by water, and in the course of a single night a little army arrived, and disembarked from the neighbouring canals. Its arrival, indeed, was so sudden and unexpected, that the men appeared to have actually *dropped from the clouds*.—No *avant-couriers*, no quarter-masters general—not a single officer of the *état-major* preceded, to announce the event, procure billets, mark out encampments, or provide forage.

There were neither boats nor waggons loaded with provisions to accompany; no baggage followed. The officers and soldiers carried every thing along with them, *literally* on their backs. As you looked towards the rear, you beheld knapsacks no larger than those employed during a field-day in Hyde-park; when you surveyed the front rank, you could alone discover preparations for a march, the bayonets being employed as skewers to support pieces of flesh and loaves of bread; which were stuck on fantastically, and exhibiting the idea of a forest hung with provisions, seemed to bid defiance to the rapacity of contractors!

Such a body of troops, so cheerful, yet so scantily supplied, appeared as if determined to conquer.

The officers and men joked with one another; all seemed anarchy; there appeared to be neither order, dis-

discipline, subordination, nor gradation of ranks. A captain, who had the word *Citoyen* constantly in his mouth, was jocularly told to be silent by a private, as he had been only a *procureur*, and not an *avocat**.

That very night a *tambour* (a drummer) was seen playing at billiards with the colonel of his regiment, and high words ensuing, the *man of parchment* obliged his commanding officer to *beat a retreat*.

At length the hour for the jacobin club arrived, and the officers and soldiers entered *pêle-mêle*.

In the course of the same evening, the municipality was summoned to hold a *séance*, by the commandant of Ostend. It was an important period; Louis XVI. was a prisoner, and his fate was as yet undecided.—It was accordingly imagined that some intelligence connected with that event was about to be disclosed, and accordingly the hall and galleries were soon filled.

* Whoever might imagine from this, that such manners are incompetent with authority, had only to attend a French parade at that period, to be convinced of the contrary. The badinage undoubtedly flew from right to left, from the wings to the centre, from the rear to the front rank; but no sooner was the word of command given, than they all *dressed to the right*, and each battalion preserved the strictest silence. In action it is otherwise; the *Ca Ira* and the *Marseillois* become the *pas de charge*, and in this they imitate the Greeks rather than the Romans, for the veteran legions of the latter, always affected to despise the shouts employed by the Barbarians, when they joined battle, and received them with a death-like silence. The Greeks on the contrary, advanced to the combat singing hymns to liberty.

Foggé,

Poggé, formerly a *maréchal-ferrant* (in plain English a *farrier*) and who had risen to his present rank by his singular intrepidity, now enters with an important air, surrounded by his *aides-des camps*, and after insisting for some time on the multiplicity of business incident to his new office, demands a secretary; for, adds he, with a great frankness,—“*Je suis un boug—re—m—nt bon soldat, mais mauvais écrivain!*” “I am a d——d good soldier, but a bad penman!”

CONDORCET.

The name of this great man, alike dear to liberty and the sciences, can never be pronounced without exciting a variety of melancholy sensations. After the death of his friends and preceptors, Voltaire, Buffon, D'Alembert, &c. who shone like so many brilliant stars in the galaxy of French literature, he was considered as the chief of the philosophers of his native country. His character threw a lustre even on the revolution, and defied the slander of those who asserted that great event to have been produced and supported by mean and sordid minds; but his death gratified their malice, as it enabled them to maintain that neither virtue, nor talents, nor patriotism, were sacred from the furor of revolutionary destruction.

M. de Caritat, formerly *Marquis de Condorcet*, was descended from an ancient family. He had addicted himself from his youth to study; and as men

of genius generally anticipate the age in which they live, the constitutional monarchy found him a citizen already devoted to the cause of freedom, and at the fall of the throne, the people in him beheld a zealous and disinterested republican.

Condorcet was the scholar of D'Alembert. Under that great master, who predicted his future celebrity, he applied himself to mathematicks, and in 1767 published his first work, "*Essai d'Analyse*." His second, under the title of "*Recherches sur le calcul intégral*," added to his former fame, and obtained for him the reputation of a mathematician of the first class. The fame of his talents at length attracted the attention of government, and under the philosophical administration of M. de Turgot, he was selected, along with D'Alembert and Bossut, to assist that great minister in all the political operations which required an extensive knowledge of mathematicks.

A chasm intervenes in his literary life, between the years 1775 and 1782, during which he published nothing, except a few dissertations inserted in the *Transactions of the Academy of Sciences*. He, however, was not idle; for, after having ensured the reputation of one of the greatest mathematicians of his age, he applied himself to other branches of science, and especially to metaphysicks and politicks.

The first remarkable publication of M. Condorcet, after those we have already enumerated, was the speech pronounced by him at his reception into the French academy, in February 1782. In this elab-

orate

borate production he exhibited the result of that inestimable philosophy which he had imbibed from his friends and masters, and presented a complete analysis of the present state of the human mind.

“Descartes*,” says he, in this celebrated production, “n’avoit révélé la vérité qu’aux sages. Bacon, Mallebranche, Grotius, Bossuet, Paschal, &c. n’avoient présenté jusqu’alors que des idées et des principes décousus: C’est dans ce siècle que pour la première fois s’est développé le système général des principes de nos connoissances la raison a été aux prises avec l’erreur et l’ignorance, mais nous l’avons vue sortir victorieuse: enfin la vérité a vaincu,

* Descartes revealed truth to the wise alone. Bacon, Mallebranche, Grotius, Bossuet, Paschal, &c. had, until then, presented us with nothing but crude ideas and principles. It is during our own age, that the general system of principles which lead to our attainments, has been for the first time developed.

Reason was at war with error and ignorance, but we have at length beheld her return victorious from the combat: in short, truth hath conquered, and the world is saved.

We now behold our very youth, uniting in themselves, more real knowledge than—I will not say the greatest men of antiquity—but even those of the 17th century, could have acquired by long continued labours.

Directed by philosophy, man in a short time will no longer have occasion to listen to any thing but the language of his heart, and his reason, in order to fulfil, from natural inclination, the same duties which now occasion so many efforts and sacrifices. Man, becoming in some measure an *automaton*, under the empire of genius, will practise the greatest virtues, in the same manner as by aid of machines, a workman can now produce a master-piece of ingenuity, without exhibiting any degree of intelligence or address,

et le monde est sauvé. Nous voyons une jeunesse réunissant plus de connoissances réelles que n'ont pu en acquérir, par de longs travaux, les plus grands hommes, je ne dis pas de l'antiquité, mais même du dix-septieme siecle Dirigé par la philosophie, l'homme n'aura besoin que d'écouter la voix de son cœur et de sa raison, pour remplir, par un penchant naturel, les mêmes devoirs qui lui coûtent aujourd'hui des efforts et des sacrifices L'homme automate sous l'empire du génie, pratiquera les plus grandes vertus, comme à l'aide des machines, un ouvrier exécute sans intelligence et sans adresse des chefs-d'œuvres."

While D'Alembert was still secretary to the French academy, Condorcet had been appointed his successor, and when that illustrious philosopher happened to die, in the year 1783, he fulfilled all the duties of that office. This opened a new field to his talents; for he now employed his pen in writing the *éloges* of his deceased colleagues.

Every one knows how much the French *literati* have excelled in this species of biography, and it is likewise known how much it has been improved from one generation to another.

Fontenelle, Thomas, D'Alembert, had surpassed each other in their turn, and it was reserved for the glory of Condorcet to excel his three illustrious predecessors, by uniting the eloquence of Thomas with the philosophy of D'Alembert. His first specimen, dedicated to the memory of his friend and preceptor,

was recited before the academy, in the year 1784; the eulogium of the celebrated mathematician Euler was delivered in 1785.

Were mathematicks a favourite pursuit with the generality of readers, we should enter into some details relative to these two master-pieces of biography. We cannot refrain, however, from taking notice of two sublime passages.

M. D'Alembert was a bastard, and elevated in the foundling hospital :

"What is that," says his biographer, "to a great man? His true ancestors are those who have preceded him in the career of genius; his posterity are those who imitate him!"

Speaking of Euler, the author of many important discoveries :

"This is the man," says Condorcet, "who has repaired the honour of the continent, which until his time, had no one to oppose to Newton."

The success obtained in this new line, prompted Condorcet to present the publick with interesting lives of other eminent persons of his own age, and in the year 1786, he published the eulog of the famous comptroller general Turgot, in two small volumes 8vo. This work is not sufficiently known in England, although it must be allowed to be a singular one in every point of view, for it exhibits the life of an amiable and philanthropick financier. M. de Turgot was a great philosopher, and author of many metaphysical articles in the encyclopedia. He was also celebrated in France on account of his

methodical and systematical spirit. He had attempted, says Condorcet, to carry into execution the advice of Lord Bacon, "*notiones communes penitus abolere, atque intellectum abrasum et aequum ad particularia de integro applicare,*" and he had been so far successful in attaining this, that he was heard to say more than once, "that he had acquired a systematical range of thoughts, connected with each other in an indissoluble chain, from which it was hardly possible for him to detach a single link without endangering the whole."

"A man like this," adds Condorcet, "was not welcome at the court of *Versailles*, and when he dared to rush into the den of those monsters who riot in the French finances, he was devoured by them."

Voltaire who was an admirer of Turgot, and who, on visiting him at Paris, ran towards him in a kind of ecstasy, crying—" *laissez-moi baiser la main qui a signé le salut du peuple **," soon after his disgrace consoled him with a beautiful poem entitled, "*Épître à un homme.*"

No man was more worthy of such a biographer than Voltaire himself, the glory of the French literature. Accordingly, Condorcet published his life in the year 1787.

This new work not only surpassed all the preceding ones of the same author, but every other of the same kind, in either ancient or modern times; and

* "Permit me to kiss the hand that has signed the salvation of the people."

had Voltaire himself been alive, he would have felt that even his celebrated attempts fell short of his own life. Until then the history of Charles the XII. of Sweden, was generally thought the best piece of biography in existence. It was so no more after the labours of Condorcet.

The work in question, being very well known in this country, it would be unnecessary to trouble the publick with any particulars concerning it. It may, however, be remarked, that it exhibits a finished picture of the improvements of the present age, for the exertions of Voltaire, were intimately connected with the general progress of the human mind, during the 18th century: the author, indeed, fully demonstrated the truth of the motto prefixed by him from the tragedy of "Les Druides:"

" L'exemple d'un grand homme est le flambeau sacré,

" Que le ciel bienfaisant, dans cette nuit profonde,

" Allume quelquefois pour le bonheur du monde !"

After having written the life of the immortal Voltaire, Condorcet might have stopped in his career, but there was another eminent character who now solicited and deserved his attention.

In the publick sitting of the academy of sciences, on the 13th of November, 1790, he recited the eulogium of Franklin, with the well known motto:

" Eripuit cælo fulmen, mox sceptrâ tyrannis "

This publication, however, experienced but little success. It was allowed, indeed, to be worthy a secretary of the academy, and every one acknowledged that Condorcet had given a concise review of Dr.

Franklin's exertions in favour of philosophy, of mankind, and of his native country. But it was remarked at the same time, that the ideas were not always expressed with sufficient neatness of style, and elegance of phraseology.

It was now high time for Condorcet to exhibit his abilities in politicks. He accordingly brought forth a new edition of Smith's inquiry into the "Wealth of Nations," to which he added his own notes. "This," says he, "which the English call the first of books, obtained in France, the approbation of a small number of adepts. Smith was the teacher of a mysterious science, whose improvements the tyrants were greatly desirous to stop, for they were interested to prevent their subjects from founding the depth of publick economy. Our revolution has placed Smith in his true apogeeum. Political economy is now an easy science, the comforting divinity of the devotees of liberty, and the antidote of that destructive art, which under the name of finance, formerly overturned the foundations of publick happiness, and undermined the sacred principles of equality."

It might appear astonishing, notwithstanding so many singular merits, that Condorcet was not appointed a deputy to the states-general, if we did not know, that but few were elected on that occasion, who happened to be either in the service of the court, or enjoyed places and pensions under the old government.

But

But while the first edition of the French patriots performed the greatest services to their native country, in the national assembly, Condorcet dedicated his pen to the promotion of the new order of things, and in consequence of his zeal, was nominated a representative in the second legislature. In the mean time he bestowed all his leisure moments on the celebrated work entitled, "*La Bibliothèque de l'homme Public.*" This publication was intended as an analysis of all the political writers from Xenophon to Raynal ; and Condorcet, in addition to his own labours, had invoked the assistance of the learned civilian La Croix, M. Peyssonell, formerly consul in the Crimea, author of the *Commerce de la Mer-Noire*, &c. and other eminent men. He himself however, was the chief conductor of the work, in which he also interspersed now and then, some short essays, and dissertations of his own.

After the *Bibliothèque de l'homme Public*, he published, in the year 1791, two very celebrated memoirs on publick instruction ; in one of these he supported his beloved principle, that mankind was perfectable *in infinitum* ; in the other he pointed out the execution of this plan in a free nation. If the present mode of organizing publick schools, and the national institute in France, should prove beneficial to the republick, it stands indebted for both to the superiour mind of Condorcet. It was he who was the first to conceive the idea of the four distinct degrees of instruction :

1st. For

1st. For villages ;

2d. For districts ;

3d. For departments ;

And, 4th. For the metropolis.

It is likewise owing to him, that the project of paying all school-masters from the publick treasury, in order to save them from the humiliation of the individual fees of their pupils, was adopted.

Soon after his appointment to a seat in the second legislature, Condorcet became the *Briareus* of the revolution. It is impossible to form an idea, much less to give an enumeration of his labours and exertions. A single day scarcely occurred in which he did not speak on every branch of administration, and the records of the jacobin club (then uncontaminated with blood) testify his frequent motions there. Besides this, he became the chief conductor of the journal entitled, "*La Chronique de Paris* * ;" he also wrote occasionally in the
journal

* As Franklin in America, and Brissot and Condorcet in France, are perhaps the only persons who have succeeded in rendering the situation of a Journalist respectable, it has been deemed proper to transcribe an article written by the last of these celebrated men, from the *Chronique de Paris*. No. 327, as a specimen of his style and manner.

" ASSEMBLÉE NATIONALE.

Séance du 22 Novembre.

PRESIDENCE DE M. VAUBLANC.

Le décret de l'assemblée nationale sur les troubles religieux, a fait naître une grande question. On demande si les prêtres papistes prêteront ou ne prêteront pas le serment civiques. Quelques pré-
lats,

journal of Briffot, called, "Le Patriote François," in the "*Annales Patriotiques*" of Carra, &c..

But

lats, quelques abbés commendataires espèrent encore que contre la foi nationale, on dépouillera les nouveaux acquéreurs des propriétés qu'ils ont payées à un prix un peu plus réel que celui auquel ces successeurs des apôtres les avoient autrefois achetées des dames de la cour. Ils prétendent, en conséquence, qu'on ne peut en conscience prêter ce serment. En effet, disent-ils, la constitution renferme la liberté des opinions religieuses et celle des cultes, ce qui est évidemment contraire aux droits du Pape. On pourroit leur observer que suivant ce principe, un prêtre catholique ne peut jurer en conscience que le maintien des constitutions où sa religion est dominante. Or, avouer ce principe, c'est se déclarer l'ennemi des neuf-dixièmes du genre humain. On pourroit leur demander aussi s'ils ont tenu ce langage dans les pays où ils ne se sont pas trouvés les plus forts, et si leur obstination à y persister n'annonce pas des espérances qui doivent justifier toutes les mesures qu'on peut prendre contre eux. En effet, sans un appui secret, sans une conscience qu'ils ont eu l'art de séduire, oseroient-ils afficher des maximes que le cardinal de Lorraine eût rougi de professer ? Oseroient-ils affecter des prétentions qui auroient révolté les esprits superstitieux du 14^e. siècle ? Cependant, comme quelques prêtres sont assez au courant des opinions du siècle pour ne pas donner dans ce piège, ils ont imaginé un autre système : ils ont dit : jurer de maintenir la constitution, c'est jurer de maintenir les lois réglementaires émanées des pouvoirs constitués. Or, plusieurs de ces lois blessent la conscience sacerdotale ; mais comme on ne peut refuser la promesse de maintenir uneloi, à moins de se croire obligé de ne pas l'exécuter, il résulte de cette prétention, qu'un ministre de l'église romaine ne peut se croire tenu d'exécuter les lois d'un pays qui ne s'est pas soumis à toutes les fantaisies des prêtres de cette religion ; et comme apparemment ils ne croient pas avoir une autre morale que celle des hommes, il s'ensuit qu'aucun individu ne peut se croire obligé d'obéir à la constitution du pays qu'il habite, pour peu qu'il suivant ses opinions particulières,

But if his ardent patriotism obtained for him the highest reputation among the friends of liberty, it

il se trouve dans le système entier des lois qui sont obligatoires, d'après cette constitution, un seul article contraire au droit naturel. D'où il résulteroit évidemment qu'aucun homme ne peut s'engager d'obéir aux lois de son pays, car jusqu'ici il n'existe aucun système de lois dont, aux yeux de chaque citoyen, tous les articles soient conformes à la règle éternelle du droit.

Par une conséquence nécessaire du même principe, il n'y a de lois légitimes que celles qui sont conformes à la volonté des prêtres catholiques, et c'est un despotisme absolu qu'ils réclament sous le nom de liberté.

On voit donc que cette morale sacerdotale même a la dissolution de toute société politique ; et il faut applaudir à la sagesse de l'assemblée nationale, qui a enfin forcé les prêtres à montrer leur système d'immortalité dans toute sa turpitude, qui, la première, a eu le courage de leur arracher le masque tout entier. Ils pourront encore tromper quelques princes ; ils pourront les entraîner dans un culte commun, mais ils ne séduiront plus les nations. Leur conduite en France est une leçon dont tous les peuples sauront en profiter. On les verra encore s'introduire mystérieusement dans le cabinet de quelques rois, leur donner des conseils perfides, peut-être faire couler le sang humain dont ils s'abreuvent depuis tant de siècles ; ils peuvent nuire encore, mais ils ne peuvent plus régner.

Après la lecture du procès, on a annoncé à l'assemblée que le roi avoit nommé MM. Duverrier et Bertholio pour assister au tirage par le sort des juges de la haute cour nationale.

Les quatre, dont le nom est sorti de l'urne, sont MM. Creuset-Latouche, du département de la Vienne ; Marquis, du département de la Meuse ; Aldaret, du département de l'Aude ; Calmes, du département de la Manche.

Le comité diplomatique a fait son rapport des mesures à prendre relativement aux rassemblemens des français émigrés. M. Coch, rapporteur, a observé que ces rassemblemens étoient également contraires et au droit des gens et aux loix de l'empire germanique,

it exposed him at the same time, to the most illiberal

et que le roi devoit requérir à la fois et les princes, qui au mépris de loix de leur pays, auxquelles ils étoient soumis comme les autres citoyens, suffiroient ces rassemblemens, et les directoires des cercles, qui auroient dû les empêcher, et la diette de Ratisbonne, qui auroit dû se souvenir qu'elle doit à la France le reste d'indépendance dont jouit l'empire, de dissiper cette horde de princes, de déserteurs, de banqueroutiers, et de faussaires, qui nuisent plus au pays qu'ils habitent qu'à celui qu'ils menacent. En conséquence, il a proposé de charger le pouvoir exécutif de faire, ce qu'en lui supposant, je ne dis pas de bonnes intentions, mais, un reste de pudeur, il l'auroit dû exécuter il y a plus de six mois ; mais, on assure que M. de Montmorin, pour réparer cette négligence, est allé en Espagne demander pardon, au nom de la nation française, de son peu de politesse pour les rois, et prier celui d'Espagne de vouloir bien la tolérer jusqu'à ce qu'elle se soit corrigée.

On a annoncé que M. Wimpfen, qui commande à Newbrisch, a été sollicité de livrer sa place aux princes français, qui lui promettoient pour récompense un partage honorable dans le produit du pillage de la France, et une part dans les hochets féodaux dont ils ont arrêté d'avance la distribution. M. de Wimpfen a envoyé à M. de Lukner, son général, une copie de ces nobles propositions, et de sa réponse. L'assemblée a décrété que le ministre de la guerre lui rendroit compte des dépêches qu'il a dû recevoir de M. Lukner, et dont par discrétion sans doute il a jusqu'ici privé l'assemblée.

Un administrateur de district dans le département du Haut-Rhin, a cru que sa conscience l'obligeoit de déclarer qu'il ne pouvoit prendre aucune part, ni à l'exécution des loix relatives à l'organisation du clergé, ni à la vente des biens ecclésiastiques. Le directoire de son district croyoit que cette déclaration scéltieuse méritoit qu'il fût suspendu de ses fonctions, mais le directoire du département a craint que cette suspension, contraire aux opinions manifestées, il y a quelques mois, par M. Delessart, ne fût contrariée par le gouvernement. Ce directoire s'est sûrement trompé ; M. Delessart fait très-bien qu'un fonctionnaire public n'a pas droit de dire qu'il n'exécutera

beral abuse on the part of the royalists and aristocrats *.

In June 1792, he apologised in the hall of the jacobins, for the conduct of Pethion and the people of Paris, who had repaired to the Thuilleries in order to present the *red cap* to the king. On this occasion, he was particularly happy in the following sentiment : “ Le peuple a offert au roi le bonnet

tera que telle ou telle parti de la loi. Il est bien éloigné de s'opposer à la vente des biens nationaux, & sûrement on a donné une fausse interprétation à une phrase de commis qu'il aura signée par distraction. Ce qui le prouve encore d'avantage, c'est que le même directoire de district a donné connoissance à l'assemblée d'une lettre du même ministre où il demande qu'on lui rende compte de la disposition des esprits relativement aux prêtres non-sermentés, afin qu'il en puisse instruire le roi, qui est très-curieux de le savoir. Il est évident que son intention étoit d'ajouter, que c'étoit aussi afin de pouvoir en rendre compte à l'assemblée nationale ; malheureusement son secrétaire a oublié cette phrase essentielle, ce qui a nui beaucoup à la confiance que, sans cela, sa lettre auroit inspirée, sans doute, à tous les directoires du royaume. Il seroit à désirer que M. Deleffart changeât de secrétaire ; car nous n'osons porter nos vœux jusqu'à désirer que le roi change de ministres.

CONDORCET.”

* An emigrant, who calls himself Count Tilly, among other things equally monstrous and absurd, accused him with the murder of his friend and benefactor, the amiable Duke de la Rochefoucault ! Now it is notorious to every one acquainted with the events of the revolution, that his death was connected with the *massacre of September*, and that the ruin of Condorcet, Brissot, Gensonné, &c. was precipitated on account of the virtuous indignation they had always expressed against the authors, instigators and abettors of that atrocious deed.

rouge ; 'MARC AURELE ne l'auroit pas dédaigné *."

This of course excited the hatred of the enemies of liberty, and Mallet du Pan did not blush to assert, " that while the mathematician Condorcet, instigated the jacobin club to call aloud for the suppression of the title of *majesty* ; he himself was intriguing for his own appointment, as a governour to the dauphin, and the admission of his wife at court, as a lady of honour to the queen !" .

Condorcet was of course elected a member of the national convention, and he exacted all the regards due to his genius, so long as reason swayed the deliberations of that body.

During the imprisonment of the king, he displayed a degree of moderation and philanthropy, which true philosophy could only inspire. He was one of those who thought that the unfortunate monarch (*ne pouvoit pas être mis en cause*) could not be brought to judgment, and when he saw that no attention was paid to this position, he maintained, that the greatest penalty that ought to be inflicted on him should be perpetual banishment from the territories of the republick.

The party of *la Gironde*, then predominant in the convention, were conscious of the superiour abilities of their colleague, and they accordingly suffered him to act the most important part, under their ad-

* The people have offered the *red cap* to the king : Marcus Aurelius would not have disdained its acceptance.

ministration. By a short pamphlet entitled—"Réflexions sur la Révolution de 1788, *et sur celle du 10 août, 1792,*" which in the language of an eminent journalist of that day, contained "a concise view of the thoughts of a great man, *who commands attention and fixes publick opinion;*" Condorcet demonstrated, that he was the person best calculated to draw up the new republican constitution. He actually undertook this province, and the *formula* presented by him, was immediately accepted. It prescribed a single council for the legislature, and an executive of six members, each of whom was to be a minister of state for his own department.

Truth, however, obliges us to confess, that this project was not well received by the generality of the people in France, and it is probably known to our readers, that it served as a pretence for the defection of Dumouriez, who plainly told Camus, Drouet, and the other deputies, whom he had the audacity to arrest, that this republican constitution was a complication of absurdities, and that he was at a loss to conceive how *such nonsense* could have fallen from the pen of Condorcet.

Here ends the political career of this great man. No sooner had the animosities between the Girondists and the Mountaineers taken a serious turn, than he instantly perceived the dangers impending on his own country, from the overgrown influence of the *sansculotterie*. He was certainly as much attached to a popular government, and as firmly

devoted to democratical principles, as any one in the convention; but he thought that the reins of administration should be intrusted to the hands of those only, who, in consequence of a liberal education, were best entitled to the publick confidence. He accordingly spent the spring of 1793, in the most complete inactivity, and was heard to say to some citizens of his acquaintance—"I am afraid, my dear friends, it will be shortly said of our revolution:

"*Desinet in piscem mulier formosa superne:*"

On the fatal 31st of May, Condorcet was not arrested, an omission arising, perhaps, out of some remains of respect for his name and talents. But he loudly protested against that dreadful event, wrote an address to the department of L'Aisne on the occasion, asserted publickly, that there was no freedom in the national convention, and joined the deputies, known in the annals of the French revolution, under the appellation of (*Les signataires des protestations du 2d et 3d Juin*) those who signed the protests of the 2d and 3d of June. He was at last decreed to be in a state of accusation, and orders were issued to commit him to prison. He was fortunate enough, however, to effect his escape, on which the blood-thirsty Mountaineers did not scruple to declare him (*hors de la loi,*) an outlaw.

Every person of the least sensibility must shudder at the ferocious animosity displayed by Robespierre against this great man, and at the illiberal sarcasms which

he uttered against him in all his subsequent speeches.

“Condorcet *,” said he, “est l’homme qui s’est le plus déshonoré dans la révolution. *Grand mathématicien au jugement des gens de lettres, et grand littérateur au jugement des géomètres*, il n’étoit qu’un conspirateur timide, lâche, méprisé de tous les partis.”

The various places in which Condorcet was se-
creted during his persecution, were so strictly con-
cealed by the fidelity of his friends, that it was
generally believed in Paris, and indeed, over all
France, that he had escaped into Switzerland; and
that he lived there in obscurity, under a borrowed
name. Though he ceased to exist in April 1794,
it was not before the month of January 1795, that
his death was made known to the publick by his
disconsolate widow. This unfortunate woman—she
herself a great female philosopher, and firmly de-
voted to the revolution, addressed a letter on that
mournful occasion to the convention, giving infor-
mation of her husband’s demise, and claiming his
ashes! The epistle produced consternation in the
legislative body, and lest the French people should
conceive a dislike to the revolution, or be pushed to

* “Condorcet is the man who has the most dishonoured himself in the course of the present revolution. *A great mathematician among men of letters, and a great man of letters among geometricians*, he was only a weak and timid conspirator, despised by all parties.”

It will be immediately recollected, that the most witty part of this libel is a poor imitation of our Johnson’s remark on Chesterfield: “That he was a wit among lords, and a lord among wits.”

some excess by this disastrous intelligence, Rewbell, who happened to be president, thought that it should not be inserted in any of the publick papers.

The author of this article, who happened to be at that time in Paris, was an eye witness of the indignation expressed by the whole nation, at the loss of so great a man, and an eminent writer did not scruple to say, "that the French revolution ought to be condemned to eternal execration, even if it had produced no other calamity than the death of Lavoisier and Condorcet!" Another learned man, Mr. G——e, wrote a very elegant poem, with the motto :

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam cari capitis ———

And M. L——e published a fine elegy with another motto :

Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere manes.

Condorcet was about fifty-four years of age. In addition to his genius and learning, he also possessed a great fund of politeness, and exhibited a certain degree of elegance in his manners, which rarely accompanies a man whose life has been devoted to study*.

F 3

The

* A finished portrait of him was found in the port-folio of a learned foreigner, who has lived in France ever since the year 1789.

"J'ai remarqué," says he, "la tournure simple, mais supérieure et entièrement exempte de ce qu'on appelle miseres, l'esprit

The writer of this remarked while in Paris, that the *ci-devant* Marchioness of Condorcet was entirely destitute of friends. Being imbued with republican principles, she was deserted by her own relations, and despised by all the fashionable world. On the other hand, as she was an accomplished woman, she scorned to converse with persons who had not received a liberal education, previously to the establishment of the republic: thus, she was entirely cut off from society.

It would appear from a speech lately delivered by a celebrated leader in the council of Five Hundred, that this respectable lady, after the last insurrection of the 18th *Fruetidor*, was put on the list of the emigrants, and committed to prison. Tallien exclaimed loudly against this notorious injustice; for it was a well-known fact, that Madame Condorcet had never gone beyond the gates of Paris, during the whole course of the revolution. A message was accordingly sent to the Directory on the subject, who, to their eternal disgrace, returned an evasive answer. Every man of feeling is therefore anxious to know the future destiny of a female, entitled to the esteem and sympathy of all Europe.

l'esprit sérieux, étendu, calculateur, géomètre, instruit dans tous les genres; l'habitude constante et l'amour des détails, la facilité d'y apporter une philosophie saine, des vues politiques et administratives, une connoissance du cœur humain, un peu de malignité même dans les récits de M. de Condorcet."

Before this article is closed, it may not be amiss to mention, that the most illustrious part of Condorcet's life is that, perhaps, in which he was hunted down by the daggers of proscription, and the still more cruel formulæ of judicial assassination.—While forced to seek shelter in woods and caverns, although destitute of friends, of consolation, and sometimes even of food, instead of venting execrations against his unjust country, his whole mind was bent on a project beneficial to humanity, and every moment occupied for the advantage of posterity.—It was during the last solitary hours of his precarious existence, and while condemned to seek a fresh asylum every night from the malice of his enemies, that he conceived the plan of his posthumous work, entitled, “ *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain*,” in which, considering man under three distinct points of view, he enquires, *1mo*, What he has been? *2do*, What he is? And, *3io*, What, by proper culture, he may be?

After contemplating him both in the savage and civilised state, and glancing at the day “when the sun in his course shall only shine on free nations,” he concludes thus:

“And how admirably calculated is this view of the human race, emancipated from its chains, released alike from the dominion of chance, as well as from that of the enemies of its progress, and advancing with a firm, an undeviating step in the paths of truth, to console the philosopher lamenting the errors,

erreurs, the flagrant acts of injustice, the crimes with which the earth is still polluted ?

“ It is the contemplation of this prospect that rewards him for all his efforts, to assist the progress of reason and the establishment of liberty. He dares to regard these efforts as a part of the eternal chain of the destiny of mankind ; and in this persuasion he finds the true delight of virtue, the pleasure of having performed a durable service, which no vicissitude will ever destroy, by means of a fatal operation calculated to restore the reign of prejudice and slavery.

“ This sentiment is the asylum into which he retires, and to which the memory of his persecutors cannot follow him : he unites himself in imagination with man restored to his rights, delivered from oppression, and proceeding with rapid strides in the path of happiness.

“ He forgets his own misfortunes while his thoughts are thus employed ; he lives no longer to adversity, calumny, and malice, but becomes the associate of those wiser and more fortunate beings, whose enviable condition he so earnestly contributed to produce.”

This work was no sooner finished than he became careless of life. To Garat * he had been indebted

* “ A l’instant où Condorcet avoit été obligé de chercher un asyle, je lui en avoit fait offrir un à côté de moi, à l’hôtel même de l’intérieur, et jamais je n’aurois cru employer à un plus digne usage, ni une maison, ni un ministre de la république.

debted for an asylum in the house of the minister of the home department, at the very time the revolutionary harpies were hovering round, and thirsting for his blood. From the same friend, he also received a dose of poison, which they divided "as brothers do bread," and on being recognized and seized at a village to which he had repaired, in order to obtain a morsel to sustain nature ! He swallowed the fatal present, and in this manner put a period to his wretched existence !

Thus perished by his own hand, long before the period assigned by nature, the greatest man then left in France—the friend of Voltaire, the rival of D'Alembert, and the correspondent of Frederick, and of Catherine. At an early period of life, he easily vanquished all the difficulties of science, but he is

" Cette violation d'un décret eût été pour moi la plus sainte exécution de toutes les loix. Lorsque plusieurs mois après ce philosophe, l'honneur de la représentation nationale, fut obligé de sortir du réduit sacré où une ame digne de la sienne l'avoit dérobé à cette population immense d'espions et de bourreaux qui avoit partout des yeux & des oreilles, je lui fis proposer encore de se rendre à une maison que je possède à dix lieues de Paris, & où d'avance tout seroit disposé pour le recevoir. L'éloignement du lieu, la grande difficulté de passer d'un département à l'autre sans passeport rendant l'exécution de ce projet trop périlleux, je m'occupai à lui procurer un autre asyle plus près de celui qu'il avoit été forcé d'abandonner ; & c'est dans le moment où nous concertions les mesures que l'infortuné alla tomber dans les mains qui donnoient la mort à tous ceux qui ne se la donnoient pas eux-mêmes."

Mémoires sur la Révolution, par D. J. Carat, p. 202.

perhaps

perhaps entitled to a still greater degree of praise, for overcoming the prejudices that warp themselves round the human heart. Attached to the haughty claims of the nobility by birth, he warmly contended for Plebian privileges from conviction. Interested in the duration of the ancient government, by honours, by places, and by pensions, he never betrayed the destinies of his country, but stedfastly persevered in the first wish of a reasonable being—that of a free government; and the chief duty of a philosopher—the melioration of the human species.

The legislature of France, which had basely permitted him to be outlawed, at length paid a willing homage to his memory *. But his own works will rescue his injured name from oblivion, and the future historians of his native land, will avenge his insulted *mânes*.

* The convention on the 13th *Germinal*, 1796, decreed as follows:

Art. I. La commission exécutif de l'instruction publique acquerrera sur les fonds mis à sa disposition 3000 exemplaires de l'ouvrage posthume de Condorcet, intitulé, " Esquisse, &c."

II. Le comité d'instruction publique est chargé de veiller à ce que ces 3000 exemplaires soient distribués dans l'étendue de la république, & de la manière la plus utile à l'instruction. Chaque membre de la convention en recevra un exemplaire."

The following facts and dates may prove interesting, perhaps, to such readers as are desirous of more particular information concerning the above illustrious character. They arrived too late to be incorporated in the life.

John-Anthony-Nicholas Caritat, *ci-devant* Marquis of Condorcet, was called by the first of these names in France, on the annihilation of nobility, although he still continued to be known, and celebrated all over Europe, by the second.

He was descended from an ancient family, and was born at Ribemont, in Picardy, on the 17th of September 1743*.

At the age of fifteen, he was sent to the college of Navarre, and distinguished himself while there, by his attachment to mathematicks and physicks, in which he excelled one hundred and twenty scholars, attending the same course of instruction.

On his return home, he continued to cultivate geometry, and in order to have better opportunities for improvement, he repaired to Paris, in 1762, where he attended the chemical course of Macquer and Beaumé, and frequented the literary societies which D'Alembert had assembled at the house of Mademoiselle de Lespinasse.

* Notice sur la vie et les ouvrages de Condorcet, Par J. Lalande.

When only twenty-two years of age, he acquired considerable reputation by his work on *Integral Calculations*, and was already numbered among the first mathematicians of Europe.

In 1767, he published his solution of the *Problem of three Bodies*.

In 1768, appeared the first part of his *Analytical Essays*.

He was received into the Academy of Sciences on the 8th of March 1769, and from that period until 1773, he enriched the volumes published annually by that learned body, with memoirs on *infinite series, partial and finite differences, equations of condition, &c.*

About the same time, he presented an anonymous pamphlet to the publick, in which he defended the philosophers against the attack made on them, by the author of "*Les Trois Siecles*," and employed ridicule with admirable effect, in the cause and advancement of truth.

On the 10th of June 1773, he was appointed secretary of the Academy of Sciences, and in addition to the *Eloges* of deceased members, he added the lives of such learned men, as had been omitted by Fontenelle.

In 1782, he was elected a member of the French Academy.

About the end of the year 1786, Condorcet married Maria-Sophia de Grouchy, a lady brought up in the family of the amiable and unfortunate Duke de Rochefaucauld. To this connection, he appears to have

have been less incited by her youth, beauty and accomplishments, than a generous sensibility*.

In 1787, appeared his life of Turgot, to which he did not at first affix his name.

Aware of the influence and importance of periodical works, he contributed largely to the *Journal de Paris*, and *Le Chronique*; and but a little before his death, he undertook, in concert with the famous Sieyes, now ambassador at Berlin, a new journal, which had *social instruction* for its object.

In 1791, he composed a pamphlet in favour of a *republican government*, and he was permitted to keep his office of secretary to the Academy of Sciences, even after he had obtained a seat in the legislature.

When the greater part of the crowned heads of Europe menaced enfranchised France with a bloody war, he drew up a manifesto on that subject.

He was an early member of the jacobin club, and a constant attendant there, so long as it proved serviceable to the commonwealth, but no sooner did that society assume a ferocious aspect, than he withdrew †.

When Louis XVI. was conducted to the Temple, Condorcet was nominated by the Assembly to draw up a memorial, justifying its proceedings, to all Europe.

* He was fascinated with the tender and courageous anxiety with which she watched the couch and assuaged the sufferings of the son of the President du Paty, who had been bitten by a mad dog.

† Condorcet retired in March 1792.

In the National Convention, he also acted a distinguished part, and was chairman of the committee appointed to prepare the new republican constitution.

After Robespierre had satiated his vengeance on the *Brissotins*, Condorcet obtained an asylum during several months, in the house of a worthy Parisian female, who compassionated his misfortunes, although she was unacquainted with either his person or history.

In March 1794, he was obliged to quit his concealment, in consequence of the menaces thrown out, respecting a strict domiciliary visit.

Having escaped the vigilance of those stationed at the barriers, he passed the first night on the plain of *Mont-Rouge*. On the next morning, he repaired to the house of an old friend at Fontenai, who unfortunately had gone to Paris, and was not expected to return for some days. In this horrid state of suspense, he spent one night in a quarry, and another under a tree in an open field.

On the third day, he hastened to meet his friend, but the interview was short and unsatisfactory; after a hearty refreshment, it was at last agreed, that he should once more depart, in order to avoid suspicion, and return again at night, when all the servants had retired to their beds.

In the mean time, he was obliged to wander about the environs of Clamar, and being greatly exhausted and fatigued, he entered an ale house in the neighbourhood, where his long beard, and haggard looks, having

having exposed him to suspicion, he was seized by a member of the revolutionary committee, and transferred to the district of Bourg-la-Reine.

Happening to arrive too late to be interrogated that night, he was confined under the name of *Pierre Simon*, with a view of being sent to Paris, but he was found dead next morning, on the 28th of March.

Thus fell one of the greatest philosophers, and ablest writers, that have adorned the present age. In private life he was extremely amiable, but neither his conversation nor deportment bespoke the extent of his genius. It was on this account, that D'Alembert was accustomed to compare him to "a volcano covered with snow."

In respect to his posthumous works, his "Sketch of the Progress of the human mind," written during his concealment in the capital, is only the outline of a greater undertaking, which he intended to have finished, had he lived but a short time longer.

He has also left behind him, a Tract on Calculation, and an Elementary Treatise on Arithmetick.

A daughter of Condorcet, by his wife, is still alive; he was greatly attached to both, and it is to be hoped, that the relatives of so great a man will be speedily rescued from their present unhappy situation.

CHALIER.

It is almost impossible to detail the character of this man, for he is described to be a monster by one party, and hailed by the other as a martyr of liberty.

Without presuming to decide on this question, we shall here mention a few facts, hitherto uncontroverted, either by his friends or his enemies.

Joseph Chalier, was born at Beautard in Dauphiny. His parents, who were natives of *Piedmont*, repaired soon after to their native country, where he was educated, and became a priest.

After receiving the *tonsure*, the young man returned to France, where he performed mass during two years.

In 1792, he was elected a municipal officer of Lyons, but was suspended from his functions by the department.

On the 15th of August, of the same year, he complained in person to the national assembly, of the injustice that had been done him, and demanded his re-establishment. He not only obtained this, but was created president of the tribunal of Lyons.

The inhabitants of that city having coalesced with the insurgent departments, were opposed by Chalier, whom they seized and condemned before a tribunal of their own erection. No sooner, however, did the convention triumph over the Lyoneses, than his death was avenged, and a monument erected to his memory at the publick expence.

PERREYRA.

This extraordinary man was a Gascon* by birth, a Jew by religion, and, like most of his sect, was called after one of the ancient patriarchs †.

Like most of them also he followed commerce as a profession; but his mind was not narrowed or debased by that spirit of traffick which we either find or suppose to accompany the children of Israel during the present age. On the contrary, he was frank and open in his manners, and had such an utter disregard to wealth, that he squandered a large fortune with a prodigality truly Christian! In short, while a young man, he was at once very opulent and very gay, and is well known to many of the English by having supported a lady of quality of our nation with great splendour at Paris.

He often indeed repaired to this island, and what is not a little extraordinary for a Frenchman, spoke the language like a native. During one of his visits here, he got acquainted with and married the daughter of a rich Jew in the city, with whom he got about 70,000*l.* sterling.

The revolution may be considered as the jubilee of the Gallican Jews, and had it achieved nothing else than the emancipation of that oppressed race of

* He was born at Bayonne, in, or about the year 1743.

† Jacob.

men, it would of course have formed an epoch in the history of humanity *.

Perreyra, who had often suffered for the supposed misdeeds of his nation, eighteen centuries before his own birth, and who, until now, was scarcely considered as a man, found himself all at once elevated to the rank of a French citizen! The electric shock, that was felt from one end of the nation to the other, seems to have vibrated with double force upon his heart, and he determined to devote his life and fortune to the propagation and defence of that liberty to which he was indebted for his enfranchisement.

He accordingly, from the very commencement of the revolution, took an active part in the contest, and repeatedly distinguished himself on the popular side. On every occasion he was active, intrepid, and enterprising, and never spared his private fortune or personal exertions, when either or both could be useful.

Notwithstanding the prophet Samuel was a great stickler for a theocratical commonwealth, and a great enemy to kings, it appeared somewhat strange to behold a modern Israelite, fresh from the ex-

* We now live during an age, in which the liberation of a whole nation may be intimately connected with the publication of a single pamphlet! This fact is nearly demonstrable in the present instance, for it was a tract from the pen of the celebrated Abbé Gregoire, now constitutional bishop of Blois, that first aroused the feelings of his countrymen in behalf of the oppressed Israelites, and to the honour of France and of Christianity, by an extension of civil rights, made them cease to be considered as a separate, and degraded nation.

change of Bourdeaux, preaching up the doctrine of equality, deprecating the respect conferred on wealth, and urging the advantages resulting from republican institutions. But this, which of itself would at any other time have formed an epoch, occurred at a period of the French history when nothing appeared uncommon, because every thing was extraordinary!

It would have been surprising if such a man had not been employed in the publick service. Jacob Perreyra, soon after the battle of Jemappe, which decided the fate of the Low Countries, was accordingly nominated a commissioner in Belgium; but on this, as on every other occasion, his zeal was at least disinterested, for while La Croix and many others were amassing large fortunes by plunder and confiscation, this descendant of Abraham, as if to put the rapacity of the Christians to the blush, would receive no stipend or compensation whatever from the government, but, on the contrary, performed all his functions with the strictest integrity, and even defrayed his own expenses from his private purse.

But this was not all. He was one of the first to sound the inclinations, discover the intentions, and discomfit the treachery of Dumouriez.—The moment he perceived that this general had entered into a secret correspondence with the Austrians, he dispatched a courier to Paris, and with a determination of character peculiar to himself, entered Valenciennes, and declared that and all the
neigh-

neighbouring fortresses “in a state of siege.” The energy of this measure discomfited the treason of the revolted chief, and the republick was perhaps indebted to him at that critical moment for its very existence.

In the mean time war was declared against this country, and every thing English, from being beloved to excess, became odious. All those of that nation then residing in France, were ordered to be arrested, and among the rest, the wife of Perreyra was about to be sent to prison!

On this, the intrepid Jew repaired to the committee of publick safety, armed with a pair of pistols, one of which he brandished in his hand, and addressing himself to the author of this cruel measure, spoke thus :

“ Did not I, Robespierre, save the commonwealth in Belgium? Did not I detect the treason of Dumouriez, and render his defection harmless? Have I not served the state, without fee or reward, and kept my hands clean, when others sullied theirs with the publick spoil? And by way of rewarding me, have you not exacted a law, that would rob me of my wife, and shut her up in a dungeon? Either rescind the decree, or
”

He was not suffered to proceed any further, for the dictator was sufficiently acquainted with his determination, to be afraid of his resentment. A compromise accordingly took place, and an amendment was inserted by the legislature, declaring that a wo-
 man

man married to a French citizen, should be exempt from the operation of the act !

Perreyra now congratulated himself on account of the success of his intervention in behalf of his wife, and his victory over the tyrant, but he forgot that he had awakened his fears, and his suspicions, and that it was a maxim with that monster, *never to forgive !*

Let it be recollected too, how many, and how various were the means of destruction in his power ; and that to wish for, and to effect the assassination of a citizen, was one and the same thing. It will not surprise any one, therefore, when it is narrated, that this brave and unfortunate man, was arrested under false pretences *, that he was sent to prison, brought before a revolutionary tribunal, included in one of the first *batches*, as they were then termed, and perished by the guillotine, on the 23d of March, 1794.

Jacob Perreyra, was about fifty-one years of age at his death. He was of a small stature, and possessed that dark glossy hair and dingy kind of complexion, which the Jews seem to have brought with them.

* He was implicated with many others, in the affair of *Perre Duchesne*, the name assumed by Hebert ; the following is extracted from the indictment :

“ Tous convaincus d'être auteurs ou complices d'une conspiration qui a existé contre la liberté, la sûreté du peuple François, tendante à troubler l'Etat par une guerre civile, en armant les citoyens les uns contre les autres, par suite de laquelle les conjurés devoient, dans le courant de ventôse, dissoudre la représentation nationale, assassiner ses membres et détruire le gouvernement républicain, pour donner un tyran à l'Etat.”

from

from Palestine, and preserved even in the most northern latitudes of Europe. There was something very particular in his physiognomy; and this was heightened perhaps, by a pair of large black eyes, which on particular occasions, he would fix on the countenance of the person with whom he conversed, and look as it were, into the inmost recesses of the soul.

He was much attached to, and protected many of the English, previously to the seizure of Toulon, by lord Hood; even then, he did not abandon such as he esteemed, but this circumstance had nearly proved fatal to one gentleman, after his execution, for the jealousy of Robespierre never slumbered, it even survived the lives of his victims, and their friends were sure at least to inherit his enmity!

Perreyra was a man of wit, and excelled at a repartee. An amiable Irish lady of great respectability, at whose table he dined one day, for the first time, happened to enquire for a favourite *barbette*, who was named after the legislator of the Hebrews. He accordingly made his appearance, with a long, shaggy, Israelitish beard.

“Upon my word, madam!” exclaimed the Jew-commissioner, “if you persevere in calling your dog MOSES, I am determined to be even with you, for I will christen mine J. . . . C!”

CANGE.

This extraordinary person was born at Strasburgh, in 1753. In order to alleviate the misfortunes of his fellow creatures, he procured himself to be nominated one of the commissaries of St. Lazare, in which situation he was eminently serviceable to the prisoners detained there.

The following instance of humanity, ought to conciliate the esteem of mankind.

An unfortunate man confined under his jurisdiction, being uneasy about the fate of a wife and three children, who were likely to be reduced by his captivity to the utmost misery, addressed himself to Cange, and requested that he would procure him some intelligence concerning his family.

On this the commissary repaired to the place of their abode, and after having fulfilled his mission, being greatly affected at the wretchedness around him, he drew a hundred livres from his pocket, being all he possessed, and gave half to the unhappy woman.

“ Here,” said he, “ is something that your husband has sent you ; he borrowed it from an old friend, who happens to be one of his fellow prisoners : be happy ; as for him, he wants for nothing.”

On his return to the husband, “ your wife and children are all well,” said he, “ and they are in no need of any thing, as a generous and compassionate
neigh-

neighbour has supplied all their necessities—and here are fifty livres which your spouse has charged me to present you with.”

On the 31st of May, when the jails were opened, the prisoner returned to his family, and he and his wife thanked each other, for the support mutually afforded in the midst of their common distress. At length an explanation taking place, they discovered that they were indebted solely to the liberality of Cange, and repairing to his abode, they bathed the hands of their generous benefactor with the tears of gratitude.

LA RIVIERE.

Henry la Riviere, was born at Falaise, in the *circuit* Normandy, now included within the department of Calvados. His father, who had been an obscure tradesman, resided at a little distance from the famous tower, in which William *the Bastard*, as he was sometimes accustomed to style himself, or *the Conqueror*, as we are reluctantly obliged to call him, was born. In the language of the vulgar, he had “the advantage” over that prince, in point of legitimate birth, and was pretty much on an equality with his mother, Harlotta, she being the daughter of a tanner, and he the son of an inn-keeper of the very same town!

On the death of her husband, although left only with a pittance, of four hundred livres (about £. 17 10s. of our money) *per annum*, Madame la

Riviere found means, by dint of a severe, but laudable economy, not only to support herself decently, but also to procure a liberal education for young Henry.

The boy must have applied himself to his studies with great industry and success, for we learn, that he entered on logick before he had attained his sixteenth year. A handsome lad, with a beautiful face, and lively complexion, exhibiting in his conversation the early flashes of genius, and affording the promise of future greatness, would of course gratify a fond parent, and interest every heart possessed of sensibility.

It was formerly the custom in France, to rear up all the promising young men for the church ; but this does not seem to have been a plant calculated to thrive in the vineyard of the Apostles. Instead of reading the exploits of the early martyrs, or addicting himself to the perusal of the primitive fathers, he exhibited a most perverse antipathy to mass, and publick prayers of every kind ; nay, he could not be prevailed upon even to get his catechism by heart, although in respect to such books as convinced his reason, rather than appealed to his faith, and which were devoured rather than perused, his memory proved uncommonly tenacious. This untoward inclination of course rendered him fit for nothing but a philosopher, and the priests who presided over the seminary of Falaise, either disappointed in the hopes of seeing him become one of their own fraternity, or indignant at

his rebellion against their creed, punished him severely for the sins of *omission* *.

La Riviere was at length sent to Caën, at that time famous for its college. There he studied civil law, and on his return home became an *avocat*, or barrister: but notwithstanding Normandy † has been celebrated for its peculiar attachment to that science, and Falaise has produced several eminent men of the *coif*, yet he acquired but little practice. He has, indeed, been always better known as a man of letters than a lawyer.

It generally happens, that in states which have long groaned under tyranny, the class of men bred to the bar is the first to declare in favour of the emancipation of the people. I apprehend that this originates in their superiour education, which affords them at once the means of detection and comparison. They are not governed by any *holy scruples*, like the clergy, and, like other members of the monarchy, they are occasionally subjected to the rod of power. In short, when they themselves do not profit by oppression, there is no body of men more ready, or more able, to combat against the oppressors of all.

* He is said to have asserted with Chamfort "that he loved the fair sex, and liberty, too well to belong to the church." The church of Rome, however must have been greatly belied, if *holy orders* proved any exclusion to the former of these enjoyments.

† Anterior to the revolution, the Normans were proverbially *disidious*.

This appeared to be eminently the case in the infancy of the French revolution, and had not this class of men, which in the exile and punishment of the parliaments, had been exposed to the most terrible humiliations, declared loudly for a change, it perhaps would never have been effected.

Henry la Riviere was not elected a member of the states-general, for the convocation of which his *corps* had solicited; but having declared himself friendly to the recent changes, he was deputed to the convention by his native department.

While there, he displayed, as usual, great moderation; and we are inclined to think that he did not vote for the death of the King, as, on examining the list, we do not find his name included among those who countenanced that bold measure.

In the succeeding disputes, he neither joined the *Royalists* nor the *Mountaineers*, but, on the contrary, connected himself with the *Girondists*, a set of men whose morals were pure, whose intentions were upright, and who were deficient in enterprise alone.

As one of that party, he would have flourished, and with it he fell; for, having protested against the decrees* which, in violation of all law, had at one time condemned twenty-one deputies to death by the guillotine, and forced several more to perish, either by famine or their own hands; he was outlawed along with several of his colleagues.

* Those of the 31st of May, and 1st and 2d of June 1793.

During the terrour of Robespierre's administration, Henry la Riviere found means to conceal himself, and while many of the proscribed representatives were from time to time cut off by the hand of the executioner, he was lucky enough to escape.

At length the crimes of the tyrant called aloud for punishment, and on the 28th of July 1794, the two Robespierres, Couthon, St. Just, Henriot, &c. were arrested and executed.

A fair opportunity now presented itself of recalling the exiles. It was not, however, until the 8th of March 1795, that the decree which menaced their heads was rescinded; but on that auspicious day they were invited into the bosom of the convention, by what seemed to the publick to be an act of citation rather than of oblivion.

It was then that the appearance of Louvet, who had concealed himself, sometimes in the grottoes of St. Emillion, and sometimes in the caverns of Jura, astonished his friends and terrified his enemies. It was then that Kervelegan, after wandering amidst the marshes of Calvados and along the shores of the Gironde, again entered the hall of the legislature. It was then that la Riviere too, after being indebted to friendship for his life, resumed his seat among his colleagues, which he, however, was fated to retain but for a short time.

Accustomed to preach up the principles of moderation, with an energy very different from any thing connected with that amiable quality, and fated always to be in a minority; soon after his return, he

he joined the members who opposed the prevailing system, and as that party increased, his prospects seemed to brighten. He was accordingly elected president by the legislative body, and, what is singular enough, on the 19th of June 1797, he actually succeeded Pichegru, whom he now accompanies in exile.

In less than three months, however, he was doomed to experience a second proscription; for he was condemned to be transported, along with André, Aubri, Boissy d'Anglas, Camille Jourdan, Saladin, Simeon, &c. on the 4th of September.

On this, as on the *Thermidorean* revolution, the legislative body dispensed with all the forms of law, and suspended all the principles of justice; for the deputies were banished without the intermediate agency of a tribunal, or a recurrence to the boasted trial by jury. It ought also to be observed, that on the latter occasion the *necessity* was not so clearly established as on the former; for it can never be pretended that Carnot, Barthelemy, Pichegru, &c. were equally formidable with Robespierre and his colleagues, who, in addition to the municipality of Paris, armed by them in an instant, wielded all the treasures and all the resources of the empire!

M. DE LA RIVE.

This is one of the many meteors of the National Assembly that blazed but for a day, and then suddenly sunk into night.

His appearance, however, was ominous for the clergy, as he combated their *secular* pretensions with unceasing ardour, and taught them to feel, in the true spirit of the gospel, that their kingdom *was not of this world*.

“Religion,” exclaimed he, “undoubtedly ought to exercise her rights; but this exercise is only over the *hearts* of men. She neither possesses legislative, nor judicial power: for the leader of the Apostles has not given the priesthood the world to govern, but to console and instruct*.”

COCHON.

One of our own poets † thanked God, that his name would not admit of a pun! The sensibility of such a man must have been greatly affected indeed; had he been known by the same appellation as this Frenchman; for similes would then have run on all fours, and the very children *grunted* out the contemptuous allusion!

The father of Cochon was SENESCHAL, or feudal judge of the fief of Champdéniers in Poitou; and it appears that he was a very worthy man; but he

* La religion a des droits sans doute à exercer, mais elle ne doit les exercer que sur les cœurs; elle n'a par elle-même ni puissance législative, ni puissance judiciaire; le fondateur des Apôtres ne leur a point donné le monde à gouverner, mais seulement à consoler et à instruire, &c.

† Shenstone.

lived at a period when the prejudices of his countrymen made them bestow that esteem on birth, which appertains only to virtue and talents, and he would have accordingly been obliged to give the *pas* to the most profligate *marquis*, within the dominions of the monarchy.

To the children of men, in this situation, there were but two *genteel* professions open, during the ancient government. The first was the church; the second, the law: for the army and navy were interdicted to plebeians, and commerce and even medicine, if not actually dishonourable, were at least accounted *mean*.

Young *Cochon* was bred an advocate: his *name*, perhaps, would have been more suitable to the station of a fat and lazy friar, unable to waddle beyond the conventual sty, and wallowing in the filth of his own beastly excess: but as the French, of all nations in the world, have ever been the most exquisitely affected by a jest, this of itself would have afforded a reason paramount to every other consideration whatever, and deterred from any thing like a *call* to the ecclesiastical state.

The revolution opened a new field to enterprising lawyers of all descriptions, and our young advocate either was, or affected to be, smitten with the charms of equality. This alone, was a sufficient recommendation to publick esteem, and as he was neither deficient in zeal nor abilities, he was nominated a deputy to the national convention, from
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the department of the *Deux-Sevres*. In this situation he assisted at the trial of the king, and actually voted for his death; a circumstance that now appears rather extraordinary, for he has of late been considered as a *royalist* in his heart, and it must be owned that his conduct has been at times equivocal.

Being a man of a keen and penetrating genius, he was appointed minister of police under the *directorial government*, and during the conspiracy, headed by Drouet and Babœuf, he exhibited many remarkable instances of his knowledge, vigilance, and penetration. By means of his spies, who wormed themselves into the confidence of the opposite party, he had become possessed of the *clue* of the plot, and was actually acquainted with the very hour when the insurrection was to burst forth.

It was his opinion, indeed, that the insurgents ought not to have been crushed in the bud, but, on the contrary, permitted to recur to arms, as in this case the *real chiefs* would have discovered themselves, men of greater consequence than the ostensible leaders would have been involved, and the agency of foreign nations become notorious to all Europe. —The Directory, however, thought otherwise, for they were too much alarmed at the energy of the jacobins, to permit a contest. The consequence accordingly was as the minister had predicted: a few obscure men were punished, and the real authors of the plot are to this day unknown.

On another occasion, however, the conduct of the chief of the police experienced less success, and met

with a smaller degree of approbation. The estates of the emigrants had been confiscated and sold, and although the minds of individuals might be actuated with pity at their distresses, yet, as the publick faith was pledged to the purchasers, and the return of the original possessors in a body would have been accompanied with the most sinister effects, and in all human probability produced a counter-revolution; every step towards this was of course watched with a jealous eye. The project, however, was attempted on a small scale, and that too by one who had sat on judgment on Louis XVI. and in the opinion of those very emigrants, whom he now wished essentially to serve, had "defiled himself with the blood of his sovereign," and could not "be pardoned!"

The conduct of some men defies speculation, and we are only competent, on such occasions, not to decide on motives, but simply to record facts. It appears then that Cochon, having collected and consulted all the decrees respecting the fugitives, published an *arrêté* on this subject, and so far was this affair carried, that the *bureau des loix* was assembled; in order to deliver its opinion.

This affair of course made a great noise. The more decided *republicans* affected to consider it as preparatory to the recall of *all the emigrants*, and the restoration of *their property*. The *moderates*, on the other hand, appeared to praise it as an act of justice, and boasted that thenceforward respectable families would no longer be harrassed under pretence of emigration. The directory, however, at last yielded

yielded to the publick clamour, and the minister was dismissed from his employments, to the great regret of all the royalists.

He himself, indeed, was actually destined to suffer expatriation soon after, under pretence of *royalism*, for the name of Cochon was included in the roll of proscription of the 4th of September 1797, in consequence of which, he was sent to the scorching regions of South America!

The ex-minister was admirably calculated for the department, which he at one time filled with great applause, and had he not intermeddled with the grand *arcana* of government, might have proved highly useful to his country, by purging Paris of the ruffians which infest, and the perturbators of the publick repose who are continually employed in agitating it.

Cochon has something of the look of an *alguazil* about him, for his large black eyes seem to be perpetually on the watch, to discover a plot, or surprize a thief. He is also a man of great audacity, and the most exemplary courage. In short, he is admirably calculated for a stormy and tempestuous period, and would either be a formidable opponent of, or a powerful aid to any government*.

BA-

* While minister of police, Cochon was accustomed to laugh at his own name, and actually refused to sign an order for preventing the streets of Paris from being infested with swine, "because," said he, "the Hogs will not respect the commands of a Hog!"—
 "Un des traits du caractère gai de Cochon, c'est que pour occuper cette société du bon ton, qu'on désigne sous le nom de *Légion*, il leur donne son propre nom à ridiculiser, comme on jette un os à un chien pour se garantir soi-même de ses morsures, et il rit lui-même

BAZIRE.

Claude Bazire, born at Dijon, in 1764, was keeper of the archives of the *ci-devant* province of Burgundy, and became a deputy to the legislative assembly, in 1791. He was also a member of the committee of general safety.

This representative joined himself to the faction of the *mountain*, and became one of its warmest supporters.

He voted for the death of the king, and the proscription of the *Brissotins*; and he was equally violent against both. In truth, his whole political life was a series of denunciations, and he was by turns, the accuser of all parties, and all men.

At length, he leagued himself with Danton, and being implicated in a conspiracy, "to destroy the national convention, massacre the patriots, and re-establish royalty in France," he was executed on the 5th of April 1794, in the thirtieth year of his age.

It was observed by the royalists on this occasion, "that Robespierre, having nobody more to accuse, and therefore finding Bazire useless, he had sent him also to the guillotine"

des plaisanteries sales et plates, dont son nom seul est le sujet : on lui demandoit un ordre contre le jeu de ballon dans les rues, qu'il accorda, et en même tems une dédicence de laisser les cochons courir librement ; il refusa, en disant, *parce que les cochons ne respecteraient pas l'ordre de Cochon.*"

Fragments sur Paris, par F. J. L. Meyer, L. D.

HASSENFRATZ.

The man distinguished by this barbarous name, like the late John Hunter, is said to have been a joiner; like him, too, he has considerable pretensions to genius and originality.

During the revolutionary government, he occupied a place in the war-office; denounced Dumouriez, and all the generals, &c.

Having escaped from punishment, in consequence of the amnesty proclaimed with the expiring breath of the convention, he diverted his talents to gentler objects, and became one of the projectors of (*l'école polytechnique*), the polytechnick school, an establishment for the encouragement of mathematicks and physicks *.

When the conspiracy under Drouet was hatching, he experienced a temporary exile in the department of *Mont-Blanc*; but no sooner was the project discomfitted, than he was recalled by the directory.

The person of Hassenfratz serves as a foil to his talents. However, notwithstanding his inauspicious countenance, his dirty habiliments, and his perpetual stammering, his abilities are acknowledged even by his colleagues, who detest him. He is protected by an administration suspicious of his attachment, and listened to by a croud of pupils, who, while they smile at his difficulty of utterance, yet greedily imbibe his instructions.

* It assembles in the *ci-devant* palace of Eouibon.

VILATE.

This modern Gaul, like many of his countrymen, affected an ancient name, and accordingly rebaptized himself, by that of Sempronius Gracchus. He was about twenty-two years old at the revolution, and precipitated himself into it with all the vigorous enthusiasm of a young man of strong passions. His zeal occasioned him to be noticed by the *decemvirs*, and he seems to have lived in great intimacy with Barrere, St. Just, Couthon, Billaud, Collot, and Robespierre. He was accordingly appointed a *jury-man* (if the word be not here prophaned), of one of those tribunals of blood, which threw such a just odium on their proceedings, by the sanguinary and inhuman sentences they pronounced. At the period of the revolution, subsequent to the Robespierrian tyranny, we find him imprisoned in the jail *la Force*, soon after which, he published a pamphlet that made some noise, entitled, *Causes secretes de la Révolution du 9 au 10 Thermidor*.

In this tract, he asserted, 1st. That Maximilian and his counsellors, had agreed that the actual regeneration of France could not be achieved without a new distribution of territory and inhabitants ;

2dly. That a nearly equal decision of property should take place, in the manner of Lycurgus at Sparta ;

3dly. That in order to effect this, every species of property should be first brought within the grasp of government ;

4thly. That as this could not be obtained without immolating the great proprietors, and impressing a "*salutary terrour*" on the minds of all, these measures should be recurred to ;

And, 5thly. That a certain number of the *sans-culottes* should be sacrificed, in order to make room for the remainder.

He saved his life by accusing his quondam coadjutors, and was soon after liberated from prison.

CARRA.

Jean Louis Carra, was born at *Pont-de-Vesles*, in 1743, and was educated for the law. Being of a lively and impetuous genius, and having a taste for books, he soon shook off the trammels of his original profession, and became known as a man of letters. The revolution brought his talents into action, and lifted him from obscurity ; he was calculated both by nature and habit, for its most stormy periods. Under the old government, he would have remained unknown, unless perhaps, he had attained an unlucky celebrity by being admitted to the honours of the *Bastille*.

No sooner had the struggle commenced between popular rights and kingly prerogatives, than Carra entered the lists, and brandished his pen as the literary champion of the nation. It was easy to foresee the effect of a free press, on a people emerging from thralldom, and indeed, the infant steps of French liberty, were soon entirely regulated by *paper-leading-strings*. Brissot led the way with the *Patriote*,

and Carra followed with a paper of the same size *, entitled, *Les Annales Politiques, & Littéraires*, in which the celebrated Mercier was one of his coadjutors, and had his name also prefixed to their joint labours. The circulation of this journal was astonishing. It was eagerly read in Paris, subscribed for in the provinces, and transmitted to Flanders, Germany, Italy, Holland, America, and England. Its effects were highly favourable to the cause it was meant to support, and as from 14 to 16,000 were published daily, it soon acquired considerable importance. The more violent of the patriots became attached to it, on account of the vigorous measures which it recommended; the continual plots which it denounced; the numerous conspiracies which it detailed, and the various court intrigues it pretended to develope. Carra also contrived to infuse a certain prophetic spirit into it, admirably suited for the more remote departments; and it was generally perused, or rather *devoured*, by the armies, by whom it was held in great esteem. Many officers of distinction, addressed letters to the editor, and he had a great number of correspondents in the ranks, who by means of this channel, detected the manœuvres, and impeached the aristocracy of their superiors.

Roland with a single glance, perceived the utility of such a newspaper as the *Annales*, and determined to reward the labours of its principal conductor. M. d'Ormesson, a man averse to the new order of things,

* A small 4to journal.

having been dismissed from the superintendence of the national library, the minister of the home department resolved to appoint two acknowledged patriots to that office, and he accordingly nominated Champfort and Carra as joint-keepers of this great establishment, with a salary of 166*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.* sterling *per annum* to each.

The zeal of Carra was soon after remunerated in a still more conspicuous manner, for he was nominated a deputy of the department of the Saone and Loire, and took his seat accordingly in the Convention. As he still retained considerable influence among the soldiery, he was employed on one or two critical emergencies, as commissioner to the army, and conducted himself on those occasions with equal adroitness and success. The impetuosity of his character, which would have been hurtful in the more cool deliberations of the cabinet, was admirably suited to the nature of a camp, and congenial to the life and manners of a soldier.

At length the disturbances in *La Vendée* began to assume a serious aspect, and it was necessary to send a confidential person thither, in a public capacity, armed with great powers, and invested with all the attributes of supreme command. The *proconsular authorities*, necessary perhaps at first, were in the end productive of the most monstrous tyranny. The civil war occasioned the creation of them, and Carra was the first to whom they were entrusted. The insurgent departments from that moment were delivered over to the arbitrary caprices, and not unfrequently

frequently the brutal excesses of little tyrants. These sanguinary viceroys were often more odious in their actions, than the agents of the former despotism; or in other words, they themselves were petty kings, clothed not indeed in ermine, or adorned with crowns; royalty in them, however, only assumed different attributes, and was but slightly disguised under a tri-coloured robe, and a red bonnet. This appeared so evident, that Barbet in his celebrated tract *Sur le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire*, compares that disgusting period, to those anarchical times, when France became a prey to many tyrants, and had her kings of Aquitaine, Scissions*, &c.

It is but fair to remark, that the conduct of Carra, during his new mission, did not justify the hopes that had been entertained of him. He is accused of having acted in such a manner as to prolong, rather than to finish the war; and it is notorious that he protected one of the generals † of the republick, who had basely capitulated to the insurgents, and was even supposed to have betrayed his troops into their hands. On this he was denounced by the administration of Indre and Loire then sitting at Tours, and also by the popular society of that city. He was accordingly recalled, and soon lost all his popularity. He was even suspected to be in the pay of England. This vague accusation originated

* ———le retour de ces temps anarchiques, où la France étoit la proie de plusieurs tyrans, où elle avoit ses rois d'Aquitaine, de Soissons, &c.

† Quetineau.

in a ridiculous plan formed by him, of expelling the Bourbons, and calling the Duke of York to the throne, in order to procure the countenance and protection of the English nation. When foiled in this, by the public indignation, he wished to carve out a petty monarchy for his *royal highness*, from Liege, Brabant, &c. &c. we have actually seen the territory fairly apportioned on a well coloured map. To this latter scheme, however whimsical it may appear, the writer of this, has good reason to suppose, that the English ministry at one time lent its countenance, and actually had its agents on the spot!

When the revolution of the 31st of May occurred, Carra, who had always sided with the *Gironde*, went into the departments, where he had formerly been on mission, and was indiscreet enough to propose the creation of a *départemental* force; but instead of this, the administrators whom he had offended, voted an unanimous address to the Convention, and thanked them for their energetick proceedings.

The *mountain* having at length triumphed, Carra was implicated in the pretended conspiracy of the 21 Girondist deputies, and executed on the 31st of October 1793, in the 50th year of his age.

The zeal and intrepidity of this singular man, outran his discretion, and he was sinking fast into contempt, when a violent and unjust death, restored a portion of his former popularity, and threw a lustre around a life, that otherwise would have been unnoticed.

J. B. CARRIER.

The *Decemviral government* of France was replete with unspeakable horrors; but it is still difficult to believe, notwithstanding what has been frequently asserted, that Robespierre and his associates had entered deliberately and systematically into a plan for depopulating their native country. It will however be confessed on all hands, that the excesses of the revolutionary period have checked the progress of general freedom, and thrown an odium on the zealots of democracy. This was foreseen in France, and most, if not all the sinister events that have occurred, were prognosticated during this atrocious tyranny, in several spirited and popular * pamphlets, published amidst the poniards of assassins, and circulated under the very platform of the guillotine.

Carrier, whose narrative is intimately connected with the period to which we have just alluded, was born at Yolot in the department of Cantal, and acted for some time as a *procureur*, or attorney, in the pre-fidial court of Aurillac. He is said, by his biographer Babœuf, who experienced a similar fate (for the hero and historian were both executed)! to have spent a life of atrocities, and at last to have provoked the maledictions and condemnation of all France†.

* *L'Étincelle de Raison, l'ombre de Camille Desmoulins, Expliquons-nous*, &c.

† “ Il faut donc écrire! — cette vie atroce, dévorante, populicide — dont le héros monstrueux a provoqué sur sa tête les maledictions, la condamnation de la France entière!!! ”

La vie et les crimes de Carrier.

Although

Although we are not acquainted with the particulars of the first part of his life, it appears evident, however, that he declared early against the court, and it seems likely that he was one of the many Frenchmen who converted the revolution into a kind of *commercial speculation*. Of such it may truly be said with the divine Milton, himself a republican :

“ Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty ;

“ For who means that, must first be wise and good.”

The fiery ardour of Carrier, and his enthusiasm in favour of the *new order of things*, if not the esteem, procured him at least the support of his fellow citizens, and we accordingly find him, in 1793, one of the deputies for his native department.

It was in that dunghill of corruption, the *revolutionary government*, in which so many crimes were engendered, that Carrier took root, and, like the individuals of the fungus tribe, sprung up in a single night into notice. The war of *La Vendée* gave ample scope to his talents, and he is intimately connected with its most dreadful epochs, and most unfortunate events. While the metropolis, the great cities, the principal towns, and many of the villages of France, had made a rapid progress in knowledge, part of that immense kingdom was still involved in Gothic darkness. Bretagne, and Poitou in particular, both in point of agricultural acquirements and social civilization, were behind-hand with the southern and more central provinces. Those countries, abounding with forests and morasses, and being deficient in roads
and

and canals, were impenetrable to any but the natives. These, in their turn, ignorant of mankind, and entirely destitute of instruction, retained all the marks of feudal subjection. The slaves of their nobles and their priests, the cross of the one class, and the coronet of the other, awed them into the most abject submission. The revolution itself, great and important as that event was, made little or no impression on their minds. Its benefits, its effects, and its history, were alike unknown to them, and it would have been wonderful indeed, if such men could have resisted the arts and the influence employed to seduce them. In a state of society, somewhat similar to the Northern clans, in 1715, and 1745, like them they rushed to arms at the invitation of their chieftains; like them, too, they fought, and like them they were overcome. While the limited monarchy continued, their disaffection was rather cherished than repressed, by the agents of royalty, and Louis XVI. has been accused of acting the same part with the Vendéans, as our Charles I. did with the Irish. The execution of the king was a signal for the field; the Brissotine government, exhibiting their usual character, talked of moderation, and contented themselves with palliatives. But their successors, in their usual stile of ferocious energy, threatened to smite the insurgent departments with a mace of iron. And with them, to threaten and to execute, was the same!

True it is, that the Vendéans conducted themselves with a savage fury. They picketted, tortured, and tormented the patriots with all the refinements of a di-

a diabolical vengeance. Flagellation was at times had recourse to, in order to procure the discovery of arms and ammunition. Some they mutilated; others they burned; and many they flayed alive. These were hideous crimes, but they met with a dreadful, and a far too indiscriminate retaliation. The troops were permitted to live at free quarters. Not only houses, but villages and towns were laid waste. All communication was interdicted. Men were deliberately executed without a trial. Martial law every where prevailed; no quarter was given; the inhabitants were forced to put out their lights, and repair to bed, at a certain hour; robbery, butchery, ravishment, were every where perpetrated, and, as usual, in their train followed famine and disease! Such horrors, it was to be hoped, were reserved solely for the times of the Goths and Vandals; or if perpetrated at the close of the eighteenth century, would be heard of with indignation, and serve as a salutary admonition to such as wished to overstep the bounds of humanity. Alas! they are reported to have been but too closely imitated, and that too in the dominions of a nation that once professed to shudder at the bare recital.

But let us return to Carrier. The Committee of Publick Safety having determined to adopt what they termed *energetick measures*, in respect to *La Vendée*, selected generals of ferocious manners, in order to carry their schemes into execution. A commissioner of a similar character, to conduct the civil administration, was still wanting. They looked around,
and

and soon found the proper person in the deputy for Cantal. He accordingly set out armed with unlimited authority, and from the very commencement of his mission displayed an unusual degree of barbarity. One of his first publick acts was to enlist the battalion of Marat, a body of plunderers, who frightened the inhabitants by means of domiciliary visits, and not unfrequently laid them under contribution. They began with plunder, and ended with blood, for they conducted all the victims to execution, and sometimes acted as executioners themselves.

The next step was to exterminate all those taken with arms in their hands, or who wore cockades of a certain colour, under the name of *rebels* and *brigands*. He accordingly commanded twenty-four to be put to death in one day; but Philippe, one of his myrmidons, insisted on a written order, which, being issued, they were immediately killed: two of these were only thirteen, and other two but fourteen years of age!

To the sword, so wantonly wielded by the generals, the new commissioner added the still more deadly instrument of famine. Not content, however, with carrying away and destroying the corn, forage, &c. he ordered Haxo the commander in chief to have recourse to fire*, and burn all the habitations of the wretched inhabitants!

* “ Il entre dans mes projets d'enlever toutes les subsistances, les denrées, les fourrages, tout en un mot de ce maudit pays, de livrer aux flammes tous les bâtimens, ce je vais incessamment t'en faire passer l'ordre.

Such an inhuman and impolitick zeal naturally disgusted the true patriots. On the 25th *Frimaire*, 2d year, the popular society of *Vincent la Montagne* impeached Carrier's conduct: this was sufficient to make them be considered by him as calumniators, and the association was instantly dissolved. On that very day commenced the *noyades**, or drownings. No less than one hundred and twenty individuals were inclosed in a covered barge, and sunk in the stream that rolls by Nantes. This became the subject of a joke—"What a revolutionary river is this same Loire †!"

On the 27th and 28th he caused two boys of thirteen to be executed, along with four sisters of the name of Metairié, none of whom had been put upon their trial. On the 29th, in consequence of the proclamation of an amnesty, eighty rebel horsemen repaired to Nantes, and declared, in the name of the insurgent army, that they would deliver up their chiefs, provided three only were permitted to return back, the rest remaining in the mean time as hostages. Instead of complying with their demand, Carrier or-

* These, with a cruel and insulting mockery, were termed "Revolutionary baptisms." Fouquet and Lamberty were the agents in this infernal scheme, and while Carrier selected the victims, it was they who procured the boats, with concealed pipes, to let in the water. There are said to have been no less than twenty of these horrid executions, four of which were peculiarly destructive; for in one of them, eight hundred individuals, of all ages and sexes, were murdered.

† "Quel torrent révolutionnaire que la Loire!"

dered them all to be confined, and they were put to death the very next day.

The *fusillades* soon succeeded the *noyades*. The guillotine was not sufficiently expeditious, in his opinion; by this instrument no more than a single head fell at one operation; the musketry of several battalions could alone equal the bloody celerity of the Commissioner *.

The priests, from the very beginning of the Revolution, had indeed been hostile to liberty, and they were not spared by Carrier. He accordingly sent for the Revolutionary Tribunal into his presence, and ordered that such of the clergy as had not been drowned should now perish (*en masse*) in a body.— This injunction seems to have been but too faithfully complied with, although it was in express opposition to the decree of the legislature, condemning the refractory clergy to exile only.

No city in France had been more early or more fondly attached to liberty than Nantes. It had also become the asylum of all the persecuted patriots of *La Vendée*, and its inhabitants had repeatedly shed their blood, in resisting the progress of the insurgents. The Commissioner, however, soon discovered that all

* Here follows an extract from Carrier's letter, immediately after the defeat of the insurgents. "La défaite des brigands est si complète, que nos postes les tuent, prennent et amènent à Nantes par centaines; la guillotine ne peut suffire: j'ai pris le parti de les faire fusiller. Ils se rendent ici et à Angers par centaines: j'assure à ceux-ci le même sort qu'aux autres. J'invite mon collègue Francastel, à ne pas s'écarter de cette salutaire et expeditive méthode. C'est par principes d'humanité que je purge la terre de la liberté de ces monstres."

the *rich people*, designated by him under the name of the **OPULENT ARISTOCRACY**, had entered into a plot, and those *suspected* of participating in it were accordingly arrested, and transferred to l'Eporonniere, in order to be conducted to the *Abbaye* at Paris.

This devoted town was at the same time exposed to all the horrors of a famine. The citizens determined to solicit assistance from the capital, but it was first necessary that a deputation should wait on Carrier, in order to crave his intervention.

“ Demand bread for Nantes !” exclaimed he; “ I will solicit rather to employ fire and sword against such an abominable city.—You are all rogues—counter-revolutionists—brigands—I intend to issue a commission for trying the whole of you ! I myself will preside on the occasion, and enjoin the few patriots to be found there, to evacuate the place.—But, what do I say ?—the few patriots ? There was but one among you, and you guillotined him. Russians ! heads shall roll about the streets of Nantes I will regenerate Nantes * !”

The crimes of this monster already recited are, from their very nature of publick notoriety; indeed, on his trial, they were all substantiated by means of witnesses of unimpeached integrity, and have since

* At this very moment the inhabitants of Nantes were all in tears, being reduced to half a pound of bad bread per day, and in the hourly expectation that their city would be declared in a *state of rebellion*. A little before this, after denouncing “ the merchants, shopkeepers, and conspirators,” he declared, that if the last were not delivered up to him, he would *decimate* the inhabitants.

become matters of publick record. There are others, of a more equivocal nature, unsanctioned by equal authority, but yet generally believed. Lust and avarice are said to have held a divided empire, with cruelty, in the bosom of this monster. He is reproached with having enriched himself with the plunder of the opulent, and with having violated several ladies whom he afterwards caused to be butchered.

At length, happily for mankind, the *Themidorean* Revolution took place, and with Robespierre fell all his tribunals of blood, and many of the ferocious men who supported him. Of one hundred and thirty-two *Nantais*, who had been transmitted by Carrier to Paris, ninety-four yet survived. These had been accused of the vague counter-revolutionary crimes of "stock-jobbing," "forestalling the markets, with a view of starving the *sans-culottes*," &c. &c. and they now demanded to be tried before the new Criminal Court. By this tribunal, which had substituted clemency in the place of barbarity, they were instantly acquitted. In the course of the process, the prisoners had declaimed with great violence against Carrier, and the Revolutionary Committee, whom they considered as the authors of all their sufferings. Philip-Tronjoly, one of the survivors, and who himself had formerly acted as President of the Criminal Tribunal of Nantes, published those denunciations, consisting of an enormous detail of atrocities. The publick attention, on this, was instantly aroused, and the Convention at length took the alarm; for, in consequence of a report from the Committee of Twenty-

one, they decreed, on the 22d *Vendemaire*, that the Commissioner should be tried before the Criminal Tribunal. Accordingly, on *Septidi 7 Frimaire* (November 27th, 1793) he was arraigned in the *Salle de la Liberté*, when Goulin, one of his accomplices, and also a member of the Revolutionary Tribunal became the bitterest of his accusers. Carrier, however, appeared undaunted, and pleaded two decrees in his justification, the one for burning the houses, the other for the extermination of all the inhabitants of La Vendée *. As to the *noyades*, *fusillades*, &c. he threw the whole blame of those measures on the Revolutionary Tribunal, and defied any one to produce a single order, under his hand, authorising those acts †. The defence of Carrier was in
general

* The decrees in question were those of the 19th and 27th of March 1793, under the shelter of which so many horrors were committed. Neither of these, however, authorised *guillotines*, *fusillades*, *noyades*, or executions *en masse*. On the contrary, they enacted no punishment whatever, until a regular conviction before competent tribunals had taken place.

† This is a despicable evasion which he had no doubt learned in the course of his professional practice. His particular orders were indeed *verbal*, but they were accompanied by a general written authority, delivered to one of his accomplices of the name of Lamberty, of which the following is an exact copy :

“ Carrier,

— “ Représentant du peuple près l’armée de l’ouest, invite et requiert le nombre des citoyens que Guillaume Lamberty voudra choisir, à obéir à tous les ordres qu’il leur donnera pour une expédition que nous lui avons confiée ; requiert le commandant des postes de Nantes de laisser passer, soit de nuit, soit de jour, le dit Lamberty et les citoyens qu’il conduira avec lui ; défend à qui que ce soit de porter la moindre

dre

general able, and in some parts eloquent; it was chiefly founded on the cruelties exercised by the insurgents against the patriots, and if it did not justify, was calculated at least to palliate some of his own enormities.

“ Civil wars,” said he, “ have always been noted for the reprisals made by one party upon another; and there never was a civil war, during which the revoltors perpetrated so many horrors, cruelties, murders, and massacres, as in that of *La Vendée*. These seem to be now forgotten; but that circumstance shall not prevent me from presenting you with a sketch of them.

The *brigands* were the first to give the signal for crimes of all kinds, and Machecoult was the theatre, in which the most bloody scenes were realised. It was there that the rebels hacked and cut in pieces eight hundred patriots; these were interred, half dead, half alive, their bodies being covered but slightly, while their legs and arms were exposed to the elements. They bound their wives with cords, and forced them to assist at the massacre of their husbands; they then nailed them up, along with their children, to the doors of their houses, and pierced them with a thousand wounds. The constitutional priest was spitted alive, and carried in this manner through the streets, after the barbarians had mutilated such of his members as possessed

dre entrave aux opérations que pourront nécessiter leurs expéditions.”

This was issued, in order to enable Lamberty to accomplish the *royades* without interruption.

the greatest degree of sensibility: at length, he also was nailed, still alive, to the tree of liberty, while a Vendean dressed in his ecclesiastical robes, celebrated masses in the midst of blood, and disfigured carcases.

“In the Marshes of Nort, a battalion composed of 600 young men belonging to Nantes, was first mutilated, and afterwards massacred.”

At Cholet the *brigands* renewed the frightful scenes of Machecoul; they consigned the patriots to the most terrible torments; before they deprived them of life, they nailed up the palpitating limbs of their wives and children to the gates, and afterwards pierced them with swords—in short, they exercised these unheard of cruelties wherever they found either patriots who opposed, or peaceable inhabitants who would not carry arms for them.

“When they took possession of Saumur, every one who enjoyed the reputation of being friendly to liberty, perished by the most frightful tortures: the women with their children in their arms, threw themselves out of the windows, but the ruffians followed and poniarded them in the street.

The punishments destined by them for our brave defenders was no less cruel; the least barbarous was to shoot or kill them by wounds inflicted by the bayonet; but the most common was to suspend them by the feet to trees, then to place cartridges at the nose and mouth, which they set fire to, and they were thus allowed to perish in unspeakable torments.

“We could not move a single step in *La Vendée*, without those frightful, hideous, terrible, spectacles,
every

every where afflicting us. Our eyes were tortured on entering a village, with the sight of the savours of our country cut into shreds, and nailed to the doors of the buildings ; the trees, the woods, and the hedges, exhibited the disfigured corpses of our brave brethren in arms, suspended to the branches with their bodies half burnt ; a little further off, we found their inanimate remains nailed to trees, and gallowses, mutilated, pierced with wounds, the faces consumed, or rather calcined !

“ The *brigands* did not confine themselves to these inhuman tortures ; they filled their very ovens with our gallant defenders, and actually set fire to and consumed them in this atrocious manner.

“ The cannibals at length invented a new species of punishment ; such of the soldiers of the republick as they took prisoners, had their noses, hands, and feet, cut off, and were then precipitated into the most frightful dungeons.

“ Let it not astonish you then, if at the aspect of so many atrocities, *a few reprisals perhaps in their nature too violent*, should be made ; now that a calm has ensued, they afflict humanity : but you are not to confine your regards to this circumstance ; for what was our political situation at that epoch, when they were perpetrated ? All our frontiers were invaded from the north to the south ; treason had disorganized our armies ; the interior of the country was in flames ; Toulon was sold to the English ; Marseilles, Lyons, Bourdeaux, acting in concert with the southern departments, presented a menacing front

to the republick ; the departments of the north were next agitated, armed against the National Convention ; *La Vendée* was become formidable by its victories ; the whole of the *ci-devant* Bretagne experienced an ebullition truly frightful ; its coasts, its ports, were menaced with a descent of thirty thousand English and emigrants then stationed before Guernsey and Jersey ; Morbihan was in open rebellion ; Nantes was surrounded by brigands, existing merely from day to day, able with the utmost difficulty to procure subsistence, desolated too by contagion, the brigands introducing themselves within its walls ; keeping up a correspondence with several of its inhabitants, who furnished them with succours, arms, and ammunition ; the prisoners rising in the jails, and a great conspiracy carrying on in this very city !

“ It was in such a state of things, amidst so many enemies, dangers, and obstacles, that the commune of Nantes found itself protected by only a feeble garrison. Parents, brothers, relations, friends, killed, tortured, massacred by the brigands ; such were the elements that awakened, and excited vengeance !

“ Ought any one then to be astonished at this moment, if so many perils on one part, and so many atrocities on the other, should lead to exaggerated measures ? And is it proper to judge coldly to day when the public opinion is changed, concerning what ought to have been done last year, in the midst of storms, dangers, and excesses, when at that period, every good citizen had before his eyes the bleeding image of his country, and when the only rule of conduct,

duct, the sole measure of law was, as it ought to be, *the safety of the people?*”

The whole of this speech, is merely a justification, under colour of *reprisals*; it indeed serves in some degree to diminish our horror of Carrier's crimes, but it does not acquit him, for the retaliation was not incidental or temporary, but systematical and continuous. It was also clearly proved at the trial, and he could not disculpate himself from the charge, that he had signed two lists, containing the names of insurgents, among whom were children from thirteen to fourteen years of age, who were executed without any process whatever.

In consequence of this, the following judgment was pronounced on the 26th Frimaire.

I. “The tribunal, after having heard the verdict of the jury, declaring it evident that in the department of *Loire inferieure*, and particularly in the commune of Nantes, crimes and manœuvres have been practised, tending to affect the safety and the liberty of the French nation, by the commission of arbitrary acts in violation of the liberty of citizens; such as (*les noyades & fusillades*) drowning and shooting men in bodies, although they were not *brigands*; in making use of terrour against all, and in condemning many irreproachable citizens.

2. “That Carrier having rendered himself author of, or accomplice in those criminal manœuvres, by giving orders on the 27th and 28th *Frimaire*, to shoot *brigands*, among whom were children of from thirteen to fourteen years of age; by tolerating or commanding

commanding (*noyades*) drowning; by giving unlimited power to Lamberty, Fouquet, and Lalbateux, who, under colour of these powers, have committed unheard of cruelties :

3. “ That having done all this, knowingly, wickedly, and with counter-revolutionary intentions :

“ The tribunal after hearing the public accuser, as to the application of the punishment, relative to the laws invoked by him, condemns Carrier to the pains of death, and declares his goods confiscated to the profit of the republick.”

The National Convention, however, would not at first sanction the sentence, for a formal decree, revoked the powers granted to this tribunal. The fate of this vile commissioner, was however only suspended, for he was executed on the 25th Frimaire, third year, (December 15th 1794.)

Jean Baptiste Carrier was only thirty six-years old, at the time of his death. Possessing strong passions, his zeal bewildered his judgment, and no man was of greater disservice on this very account, to the cause of liberty, which he pretended to espouse.

If the print which we have seen of him, has the remotest resemblance to the original, he must have been one of the most hideous of the human race !

LUSIGNAN.

The crimes committed in *La Vendée*, were not peculiar either to the patriots or the aristocrats, the plebeians, or the nobles : alas ! they were perpetrated indiscriminately by parties, and men of all descriptions :

criptions: Here follows an anecdote but too well authenticated.

Lusignan, a man of family, and supposed to be descended from the French prince of the same name, who for a short time, filled the throne of Jerusalem, during the time of the Croisades, attached himself to the victorious side, and rose to be general of brigade, in the republican army. This officer, on his entrance into the insurgent provinces, determined to distinguish himself by his violence. Suspicion was continually awake in his bosom. Every peasant with him was a foe, and every offence was to be expiated with blood.

The young men in the neighbourhood of Nantes, and the inhabitants in general, exhibited a proof of their good intentions, by offering to enrol themselves, and march against the enemy. This, however, did not prevent the perpetration of the most shocking enormities, of which they were too frequently the victims.

This ferocious commander repaired one day to Pal-lere, a little hamlet, near the forges of Cugan, accompanied by about thirty horse. Happening to meet the women of the village, he asked, where their husbands were? They, without any hesitation, replied, "at home, weaving stuffs." Lusignan orders them to appear. They accordingly come forth with their aprons on, and follow him to Clisson, where, without either trial or examination, he orders seventeen out of eighteen to be instantly shot!

PHILIPPEAUX.

P. Philippeaux, born at Ferriere, in 1760, and bred originally for the bar, was a member of the Convention, and one of the few honest deputies who were sent into *La Vendée*. Mild and gentle in his manners, although energetic in his proceedings, he abhorred the shedding of human blood, and exclaimed bitterly against the abuse of power, on the part of the public functionaries. He seems, indeed, to have imagined, that most of the horrors committed, were secretly countenanced by a powerful faction, for it is thus he writes to the Committee of Publick Safety, on the 16th Frimaire, of the second year:

“The war of *La Vendée*, becomes daily more and more a labyrinth of mysteries and delusion; it is evident, however, that its duration is owing to a conspiracy, and the actors must indeed be in possession of great power, since they have associated even the government in their horrible success.

“It will be difficult for our posterity to believe, that all the perfidious, cowardly, or weak generals, who in the course of this war have poniarded the republick, should enjoy the most perfect security; that not one of them should have been punished; that several, on the contrary, have been admitted to the highest professional honours, while the brave and generous officers who were honest enough to endeavour to put an end to hostilities, are either displaced or in irons”

Choudieu,

Choudieu, the enemy of Philippeaux, endeavoured to contradict his statements, in a report on *La Vendée*, and to excuse the atrocities committed, under pretext that the inhabitants were fanaticks, and unworthy of mercy!

“The revolution had never penetrated,” says he, “into those parts of Poitou and Bretagne which were the seat of the insurrection. Either by the ignorance, or the perversity of the administrative bodies, the laws of the constituent assembly, relative to the nobility and the clergy, were but imperfectly understood; and it was with infinite pains that even an appearance of submission could be obtained. The inhabitants of those countries, plunged into the most profound ignorance, and deprived of all communication among themselves, on account of the badness of their roads, remained in subjection to the nobles and priests, in the midst of enfranchised France.” He then proceeds to state, “that the *civil commissaries*, sent thither by the king, instead of opening the eyes of the fanaticks, and unmasking and punishing those who misled them, gave a new degree of force and energy to their errors, and solemnly approved of their criminal resistance to the laws.”

Philippeaux wanted to carry into practice, a plan bottomed on the very theory recommended by his enemies: for he had actually drawn up a *republican catechism*, in order to enlighten the people, and instill principles of liberty into their minds.

“The generals,” says Philippeaux, in his report to the Committee of Public Safety, 16 *Frimaire*,

2d year, “such as Berruyer, Marcé, and Ligonnier, who were entrusted with the task of stifling the first germs of civil discord, favoured the rebels in every sense, in order to encrease their audacity, and bring down all the horrors of a civil war. Quétineau, successor to these traitors and disciple of the infamous Dumourier, walked in their steps. He delivered up Thouars to the *brigands*, with 5000 men and a large quantity of ammunition. The rebels took him prisoner out of mere form, and afterwards released him *on his word of honour*. He himself wore the infamous *white cockade*; he gave the enemy’s general the fraternal embrace, (*l’accolade fraternelle*) in the midst of the breathless bodies of our unfortunate brethren then dying for liberty; he delivered himself up to infamous orgies with the royalists, at the time our defenders were languishing in dungeons, and deprived of nourishment for thirty hours.”

When Angers and Pont de Cé were menaced by the enemy, Philippeaux, although he had no express mission for that purpose, instantly set out, on hearing the intelligence, for Angers, and notwithstanding he found a written order there for abandoning the place, he had yet the hardihood to resist; at the risk of his head, he took measures for that purpose, actually repelled the enemy, which led to many other salutary events, and had he been but properly supported, would have given a decided turn to publick affairs.

At length, on the 23d of August, the Committee of Public Safety determined to adopt new measures. The plan of the campaign was changed; the war

was to be terminated instantly, and that by a general attack. Ronfin and Rossignol, who seem to have had private instructions, or were assured of the protection of government, determined to mar this project, and they actually did it with impunity. On this, Philippeaux, and the other commissioners denounced them, and they were recalled, but it was only to be entrusted with still higher commands.

Montaigu was soon after taken by the insurgents, and the republican army, being deprived of their camp equipage, which had been deposited there, were actually obliged to lie on the bare ground*, while its generals displayed an Asiatic luxury.

Philippeaux, shocked to behold the republican battalions immolated under the direction of worthless and criminal men, by means of his importunities forced the Convention to nominate a commission to examine into his conduct. This, however, was not agreeable to the Committee of Public Safety, which, in order to elude this measure, declared by the organ of Barriere, "*that there was no longer à Vendée !*" Eight days, however, demonstrated the falsehood of this declaration, as Montaigu was actually taken by the rebels, and the garrison with difficulty escaped. Philippeaux attempted once more to exculpate himself, and actually procured another commission to be

* "En sorte que l'armée, depuis cette époque, est réduite à bivouaquer sur la dure, & dans la boue, pendant que ses généraux, gabionnés d'histrions & de courtisannes, la conduisent à une boucherie perpétuelle."

appointed for enquiring into the conduct of the *court of Saumur* *, but this was dissolved on the 3d *Nivose*. On the 18th *Nivose*, he transmitted a new accusation against it; this produced the temporary imprisonment of Ronfin and Vincent. From that moment he was entered in the list of those proscribed by the *Decemvirs*, a circumstance which determined the fate of this brave republican, who devoted himself for his country, without being able to save it. The guilty Vincent and Ronfin were enlarged on the 14th; and on the 15th Choudieu presented a report in order to take away his life.

On the 11th of Germinal, Philippeaux was arrested, tried, condemned, and finally cut off on the 5th of April, 1794, under the vague pretence of being “an author of, and accomplice in a grand conspiracy, tending to destroy the National Convention; to re-establish royalty in France, and to massacre the Patriots, the Committees of Public Safety, General Surety, and the Jacobins.”

Philippeaux was odious to the then ruling powers, and fell a martyr to their vengeance. They dreaded his humanity, his eloquence, and his energy, and could not bear that such a man should brave their authority, and condemn their conduct.

He blamed the sanguinary measures of the Committees of government, as equally cruel, unjust, and impolitick.

* This was the appellation given to a central committee of deputies and general officers

In the exprefs words of one of our own generals, he reproached the army of *La Vendée* with their exceſſes, and told them “that they were more formidable to their fellow citizens than to the enemy.”

It was not to be expected that ſuch a man could eſcape the guillotine; but although it was eaſy to murder, it was not poſſible to diſhonour him, and poſterity will do ample juſtice to one of the few citizens, who returned with an irreproachable character from the infurgent departments, and whoſe virtue conſtituted his ſole crime. He perished in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

DAVID.

It is not David the painter, of whom I at preſent make mention, but David a man of letters, author of “*Hiſtoire Chronologique des opérations de l’armée du Nord & de celle de Sambre et Meuſe, &c.*”

While many of the Girondists withdrew from the tyranny of Robeſpierre, by flying to foreign countries; David took refuge in the army, and was there ſafe from the fury of the *Bonnets-rouges*, as he terms the jacobins.

It was not his wealth, he ſays, that expoſed him to perſecution, but he knew how to read and write, which at that time, *if we are to believe him*, was accounted a crime! Being the relation of general Souham, he enjoyed his protection, and having an opportunity of inſpecting the orderly books of the army, and converſing with the *Etat Major*, he was

thus enabled to compose the volume which he has entitled "*Campagnes du Général Pichegru.*"

His work abounds with frequent instances of intrepidity, on the part of the French soldiers. Asking one of them, whether he thought the army would be able to penetrate into Flanders? he replied thus: "*En Flandre! ce pays ne tiendra pas plus devant nous que la rosée devant le soleil.*" Speaking of the line of fortifications from Namur to Ypres, a grenadier exclaimed: "*Cette ligne! bah, croyez-moi nous l'avalerons comme une asperge!*" These sayings indeed have the appearance of gascônade, but they were followed by circumstances that bestowed on them all the verity of prophecy.

Every one is acquainted with the effect of eloquence on large assemblies of men, and the enthusiasm produced by popular songs among the soldiery, of all nations. The "*Marseilloise*," "*Veillons au salut de l'empire*," and "*Le Reveil du peuple*," were all sung in the camps, yet M. David asserts, that in Pichegru's battles, the monotonous sound of the drum was alone heard. The lyric productions of Chénier and Gouffroi, were regularly sent to the troops, but the more simple and natural *Vaudevilles* of Barré and Gaveaux, were far greater favourites. The following verses would at first sight appear to be a *satyre* on the French armies, as they have been accused by their enemies to have drawn great part of their courage from the brandy bottle, but the author is both serious and witty:

COUPLETS.

COUPLETS BACCHIQUES & GUERRIERS.

Voulez-vous suivre un bon conseil ?
 Buvez avant que de combattre ;
 De sens froid je vau^x mon pareil,
 Mais quand j'ai bien bu, j'en vau^x quatre.
 Versez donc, mes amis, versez,
 Je n'en puis jamais boire assez.

Ma foi ! c'est un triste soldat
 Que celui qui ne fait pas boire,
 Il voit les dangers du combat,
 Le buveur n'en voit que la gloire,
 Versez donc, &c.

Comme ce vin tourne l'esprit,
 Comme il vous change une personne !
 Tel qui tremble s'il réfléchit,
 Fait trembler quand il déraisonne.
 Versez donc, &c.

Cet univers, ah qu'il est beau !
 Mais pourquoi dans ce grand ouvrage,
 Le seigneur a-t-il mis tant d'eau ?
 Le vin me plairoit davantage.
 Versez donc, &c.

S'il n'a pas fait un élément
 De cette liqueur rubiconde,
 Le seigneur s'est montré prudent,
 Nous eussions desséché le monde.
 Versez donc, mes amis versez,
 Je n'en puis jamais boire assez.

This was a favourite song in the army that entered Flanders, and is warmly recommended by David, who has returned to Paris, and has become, what is very common there, although it sounds very strangely here, viz. a *modéré enragé*.

SALM,

Is reported to be a *cadet* of the great German family of Salm Salm, so distinguished in the annals of the empire. Having had all his fortune swallowed up in Paris, that vortex of dissipation and intrigue, he entered into a regiment of dragoons, and the revolution found him in a humble situation.

One of the representatives on mission with the army, having published an order enjoining all the nobles to leave the service; this was so strictly complied with, that several privates were actually obliged to conform to it.

Salm, however, either escaped the inquisitorial eye of the commissioner, or was protected by his *corps*, for this sometimes occurred, as in the case of the Carabineers, who persisted in disobeying this *arrêté*, and actually retained d'Anglard, their colonel, an officer of distinguished merit.

At the siege of Grave, and the attack on the Isle of Boimel, we find Salm at the head of a division, and he is now a general officer, having distinguished himself, like several others of the nobles, permitted to remain with the army, by his extraordinary courage, and his implicit devotion to the interests of the common wealth.

VALETEAU,

Has lately risen from being chief of brigade, to be a general officer. He is a strict disciplinarian, a circumstance which gave great offence to the new levies

levies that were sent to the northern army, and produced his dismissal.

In January 1794, a *gendarme* left his cantonement, in order to attend one of the political clubs in his neighbourhood. Valetteau, who detested those assemblies, instantly confined him in the guard-house. The soldier, however, who happened to be a great orator, instantly denounced him, and having learned that he had been, what he termed "*garde du tyran*," one of the king's body-guard, the mother-society of the jacobins, anxious to purge the army of all the open, or disguised royalists; at length inter-meddled in the affair.

In the mean time, the *gendarme* applied to general Souham, who artfully steered clear of the contention, but the affiliated club at Lisle, having instigated that at Paris, to employ its influence, Valetteau was cashiered, and suffered all the rigours of the decree of the 17th September. Luckily, however, for him, Pichegru arrived at head-quarters, and knowing that without discipline the army would be disorganized, and France dismembered, he procured the restoration of Valetteau, to his former rank, and he has since merited this attention, by his zeal, intrepidity, and patriotism.

GENERAL SOUHAM,

Is of a gigantic stature, being six feet two inches, French measure, in height, and strong in proportion. He was born in 1761, in the department of Coréze, and being uncommonly brave, is much esteemed by
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the army. It has always been the practice of the commander in chief to place him in the front of danger. He has therefore often led the vanguard, and, what is very remarkable, has never been beaten. The advantages gained at Moescroen Hooglede and Pufflech, were obtained principally by his division. He has lately been appointed general of the interior by the Directory.

FORSTER.

This is one of the German patriots who renewed and inculcated those principles on the banks of the Rhine, which the inhabitants of the Elbe and the Weser had formerly diffused over all the North of Europe.

The son of a protestant minister at Dantzick, he was sent to England at twelve years of age; at nineteen, he embarked with Cook, then undertaking his second voyage, and after circumnavigating the globe along with that celebrated commander, returned to his native country with much acquired knowledge, little money, and such a degree of the sea scurvy, as finally shortened his life.

Patronised by Buffon, and the other French naturalists, he entertained an eager desire to settle in France. A professor's chair, however, being vacant in the university of Cassel, he accepted of and filled it for some time; but he soon became disgusted with the manners of the Hessians, and being an idolater of liberty, could not bear to behold the splendour

dour of a petty court, supported by the traffick of human bodies.

The university of Wilna then received him within its walls, in the character of professor of natural history; but here again all his feelings were shocked, for he witnessed the partition of Poland, and saw the small portion of liberty in that country, which by the bye was possessed exclusively by the nobles and the cities, swallowed up by the devouring ambition of three neighbouring despotick monarchs. Science and the Muses were of course banished from Wilna, and Forster was once more cast on the wide world, when an invitation from Catharine II. to assist in a new voyage of discovery, once more raised his expectations; but they were suddenly blasted; for the war with the Turks, which soon after broke forth, occupied all the attention, and absorbed all the pecuniary resources of that ambitious Princess.

His expectations from that quarter being now completely blasted, he travelled through Germany, and found the inhabitants "in a middle state between the French and the Turks."

At St. Frond, where the people were in a state of insurrection against the Emperor Joseph, he assumed the symbol of Belgick liberty, consisting of a cockade of black, yellow, and red ribbands. On his arrival at Brussels, he perceived the inhabitants sunk into insanity and depression, under the *leaden* yoke of a fanatical clergy. After an absence of some years, he discovered that a great change, and that not for the better, had taken place in the manners and opinions
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of the English. He beheld in private life that wealth alone was estimable, and that riches, even when unaccompanied by virtue, gave a title to respect. He also criticised the government itself, with considerable asperity, and he lays it down as an axiom "that in any country, where the people are not *truly* represented, whatever may be the assertions or the clamours of the aristocracy, there can exist no legitimate authority.

Soon after this we find him a member of the university of Mayence, and that too at a time when the French revolution had electrified his head, and that of almost every good man throughout Europe. He instantly united with his fellow-citizens in the formation of a national convention; was the first to conceive the idea of a republic on the banks of the Rhine, and was sent as a deputy to Paris, to procure the countenance and protection of the French nation.

The re-capture of Mayence by the Prussians once more dashed the cup of enjoyment from his life, and this singular and unsettled man, unfortunate in all his plans of happiness, whether publick or private*,

* He was married to a woman of great singularity and some talents, whose maiden name was Theresa Keyne. Being of a fantastical disposition, she fell in love with another man, and no sooner did the generous Forster perceive this, than he sued for a divorce in order to enable her to be united with the person to whom she was attached. He himself, in the mean time, was preparing to remove to another hemisphere, lest his presence should occasion any uneasiness!

was actually studying the Oriental languages, in order to enable him to travel through Thibet and Hindostan, when he was snatched away in the 39th year of his age, having died at Paris, on the 13th of February, 1792.

Had he lived, become steady, and chosen France as the place of his residence, it is probable that Forster would have occupied some distinguished situation under the Republick.

The works of Forster consist—1. Of a Tract on the Constitution and Government of England.

2. A Journal of Cook's Second Voyage around the Globe, in English and German.

3. A Philosophical and Picturesque Journey along the Banks of the Rhine, 2 vols. 8vo. And,

4. A Journey through England in 1790, serving as an appendix to the former: both in German.

His MSS. concerning natural history were seized by the Prussians on the capture of Mayence.

MIRABEAU.

BY AN INTIMATE ACQUAINTANCE.

The name and family of Mirabeau have been illustrious both in arms and letters. Born with an athletic constitution, he also received strong passions from nature; the passions were in some measure the inheritance and distinctive characteristick of his house. Education, by a proper direction of them, might have made a *great man* of him; constraint, on the other hand, by restraining their flight, and repressing their developement, could not prevent him from becoming

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a *famous one*: he had a mixture of both in his composition.

He was indebted for his genius and his faults to his misfortunes. The Hercules of the revolution had his Euristheus: the thorns that opposed his career were strewed by the jealous mediocrity of his father, who to the pride of an author joined the harshness of the head of a sect.

The first years of Mirabeau's youth were spent under the direction of an able preceptor called Poisson; and his son, at present known by the name of Lachabeauffiere, who has distinguished himself by some theatrical pieces, received his instruction at the same time, and partook of the same lessons: he has since claimed a translation of Tibullus, attributed to Mirabeau.

Mirabeau practised with facility and delight the various exercises for strengthening and improving the body; his physical was more regular than his moral education.

At the age of fourteen, he left his tutor, from whom he had imbibed a knowledge of the classics, and a fervent desire for further instruction. Sent afterwards to a boarding-school, he studied mathematics during two years, and cultivated with success the agreeable arts of musick and drawing.

Young, but tormented with the desire of obtaining celebrity, he published an *elogé* on the great Condé, and some pieces of poetry. But he wanted a guide to direct his first flight, to regulate his taste, and to rein in the wanderings of an ardent genius. Locke became

became that guide. Mirabeau has often confessed that he was indebted for his progress, to the writings of this author. It was in them he found that luminous, forcible, irresistible logick, with which his works abound, and without which there cannot be any real eloquence.

An order from his father, and the force of custom, made him embrace the military profession. From a school, he repaired to a garrison. It was beyond a doubt at this seminary of *the young nobility*, that an excellent disposition was perverted, and the presage of talents, stifled by vices, which it was the custom to applaud and honour. It was there that youth was fashioned to the insolence of tyranny, and the meanness of slavery. His sensibility at length awoke: love converted him into a new being, and his first passion, announced by stormy symptoms, was marked with all the peculiarities of his character.

The father of Mirabeau was alarmed: this husband, who squandered away his fortune in a scandalous manner among mistresses, became the inflexible tyrant of the tender passion of his son, whom he caused to be shut up in the fort of the isle of Rhé; he was actually on the point of forcing him to embark for the Dutch colonies, a fate reserved for the vilest of the Europeans, of whom they are at once the receptacle and the tomb. The friends of the Marquis de Mirabeau, however, prevented him from executing so base an assassination. It was this first abuse of authority that fixed the ideas of his son, respecting despotism; and it may be here necessary to

observe, that the wanderings of an impetuous genius spring out of the means employed to repress them; constraint adds to the energy of great characters, and an iron sceptre calls forth all the powers of a strong mind into instant rebellion.

On his liberation from prison, Mirabeau obtained the *favour* of being sent to Corsica in quality of a volunteer in a regiment of cavalry. There he distinguished himself, acquired the esteem of several of his superiour officers, and procured the *brevet* of captain of dragoons at the end of the campaign. He wished to obtain a company; and the refusal of his father to this proposition made him relinquish the profession of arms, a profession to which he was greatly attached, and for which, in his own opinion, he was admirably adapted, "there not being a single book on the art of war, in any language, dead or living, which he had not read*."

During the war in Corsica, Mirabeau began to canvas the principles on which it had been undertaken; this inquiry induced him to blush at his own success, and he accordingly seemed desirous to make an expiation by animadverting on the excesses of the Genoese aristocracy, in a memoir transmitted to, and destroyed by his father.

Soon after this, the patriarch of the Economists proposed a course of agriculture to the young warrior. Mirabeau accordingly exchanged the sword for the plough, and employed himself, out of mere

* Lettre à Sophie.

complaisance, in rural experiments. To the disgust attendant on this, was added that of a law-suit. These proving a load too hard to be borne, he quitted the Limousin, and repaired to Provence.

The first symptoms of a resistance on the part of the parliament to the commands of absolute power, began now to manifest themselves.

The * *friend of man* becomes the friend of authority; his son, on the contrary, was one of the most formidable adversaries of the court party and the new magistrates.

In June, 1772, he received at Aix the hand of Mademoiselle de Marignane, a lady, young, amiable, of an illustrious family: on this occasion he was preferred to five different rivals, after seven months assiduous homage.

Six thousand livres a year in estate, burdened with a jointure to his mother-in-law, several entails, the prospect of a considerable inheritance, and 160,000 livres of debts, composed the fortune of Mirabeau at this period. Certain family arrangements might have easily extinguished, or at least diminished his incumbrances; but they became the germ of all the misfortunes of his future life. Harsh, captious, inflexible, violent—his father, taking advantage of this circumstance, procured an *interdict* at the Chatelet of Paris, and obtained leave to fix his residence first at the castle of Mirabeau, and afterwards in the town of Manosque.

* Mirabeau, the father, published a treatise of some celebrity, entitled *L'Ami des Hommes*.

His wife accompanied him thither, and they lived in the greatest happiness together, until the month of May 1774, when Mirabeau intercepted a secret and criminal correspondence; it did not become *him* to be severe; he therefore brought back his wife to her duty, and pardoned her.

He now forgot his exile, and repaired to Grasse. An unexpected dispute divulged his disobedience. A certain baron de Villeneuve Mohans insulted Madame de Cabris, the sister of Mirabeau. The latter challenges him. The baron refusing to fight, receives the chastisement usually inflicted on cowards, and avenges himself after the manner of *M. de Pourceaugnac*. He accordingly brings an action and obtains from a subaltern tribunal, and an inferior judge, who proved to be his own vassal, a decree for arresting Mirabeau. The noise occasioned by these proceedings, having discovered the infraction of the orders enjoining his exile, a new *lettre de cachet* was invoked, and Mirabeau was shut up in the castle of If, on the 23d of December 1774. M. d'Allégre, the governor, testified his good behaviour, and demanded his liberty: a young and handsome woman, who was cruelly beaten by a brutal fellow of a jailor her husband, contributed to cheer the gloom of a prisoner, twenty-four years old, and at last absconded with him. This circumstance aggravated the bondage of Mirabeau.

As he was reproached with idleness, he replied to this charge by publishing his first work, which was begun when he was only twenty-one years old——

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the *Essay on Despotism*. This epigrammatick answer, irritated his father: the narrow and cowardly ideas of a courtier were offended A young man to accuse his *masters*, and that too from a dungeon!

Yielding at length to powerful solicitations, his father consented to his removal from the castle of If, to Joux, near Pontarlier, in April 1775. It was there he first saw his Sophia. Madame de Mirabeau was at a distance—she had even refused to visit him during his bondage. Madame Lemounier married to a phantom of a husband seventy-nine years old, being on the other hand, both tender and affectionate, supplied her place, and his passion for her soon became violent in the extreme.

St. Maurice the *commandant* of the fort, unfortunately proved his rival, and as both he and his father seemed to pursue him with the most implacable revenge, he determined to escape out of their clutches. He accordingly retreated to the capital of Burgundy, whither his mistress also had retired, but being denounced by her mother, he was seized and shut up in the castle of Dijon.

In the mean time the commissioners nominated by M. de Maleherbes, in order to examine into the disputes between the father and son, inclined to the liberation of the latter, on which the inflexible parent *surprised* a new *lettre de cachet*, which condemned Mirabeau to forget his love in the castle of Dourlens. M. de Maleherbes, on quitting the ministry, caused it to be intimated to Mirabeau, that the last service he could render him, was to advise him

him to fly into some foreign country. He accordingly followed his counsel.

While abroad he received a letter from Sophia, who had been threatened with being shut up in a convent, stating that M. Lemounier had solicited a *lettre de cachet*; it ended with these words: "either flight or death!" Could he abandon a woman rendered miserable by and for him? A fugitive himself, could he prohibit her from flight? P. Manuel, has well observed, on this occasion, that marriage ought to cease to be a duty, the moment that divorce is not considered as a right. This sentiment includes the justification of Sophia; that of Mirabeau, existed in his affection.

The incensed and injured husband immediately applied to the lawyers, and an inferior tribunal, considering this in the same light as a rape, passed sentence of death on the offender, who was accordingly decapitated in effigy!

This infamous judgment was, however, in the end annulled, and the accuser would have been mulcted in large damages, had not his adversary generously forgiven him, on condition, that he would no longer trouble the repose of a wife who abhorred him!

In the mean time, Mirabeau concealed himself in Holland, where he passed under the name of Saint Mathieu; he lived in great obscurity, spending all his time with his Sophia, his books, and a few learned men. During part of the years 1776 and 1777, his subsistence, and that of his female friend, depended solely on his literary labours. The bookseller

Changuyon, gave him plenty of employment. The indefatigable count, found no art or science a stranger to him; his largest work at this period, was the translation of a History of England.

He had at first formed the design of repairing to America; and it is to be regretted that he did not execute this project, which would have accomplished part of his political destiny. He was, however, very well pleased with his present obscure, but tranquil situation, and he gives an enchanting description of it in his letters, where he often laments that happy mediocrity, for which he was not formed by nature. It was from his asylum in Holland, that he sent abroad his memorials against his father; an inexpressible error, which he acknowledged, by the disavowal of them, and effaced with his tears!

The *patriarch of the economists* still panted after revenge, and had unfortunately sufficient interest to cause the rights of nations to be violated, in order to punish his eldest son. Accordingly, an *exempt of the police*, provided with a *lettre de cachet*, signed Amelot and Vergennes, went to search for his prey, in the bosom of a free country. Mirabeau receives intimation of his intentions, and prepares to fly; but it is necessary to provide also for the safety of his Sophia. A few moments lost on this occasion, bereaved them both of liberty, for they were arrested on the 17th of May, at the house of Lequesne in the Clavestand. This violation of national independence, was tolerated by a people who, on a similar occasion, cut off the head of one of the emissaries

* emissaries of Louis XIV. but the Batavian nation was at this moment subjected to the yoke of a stadtholder.

On their arrival at Paris, the dungeon of Vincennes received Mirabeau; Sophia who was with child, was confined under the superintendence of the police, and was delivered of a daughter; after which she was removed to the convent of Sainte Claire, at Gien, on the 18th of June, 1778. To this detention, which lasted nearly three years, we are indebted for the celebrated book, entitled, "*Lettres à Sophie*," a work of the passions, composed in solitude, and breathing sensibility, delirium, and affection.

Obliged at this period, to enter the lists once more with the marquis, he displayed wonderful address in supporting the rights, without wounding the duties of a son. His memoir on this occasion, is a masterpiece of reason, art, eloquence, and logick. No one can behold so much genius enchained within the walls of a dungeon, without exclaiming with Sophia: "You have proved to demonstration, that you ought to renounce the idea of becoming a great man in your native country."

While deprived of every comfort, and overwhelmed with bodily calamities, Mirabeau composed his *Erotica Biblion*, a work, keen, poignant, and origi-

* Captain Gautier who was employed to seize a Calvinist of the name of Huguetan. He was arrested at the last barrier, and ordered to be put to death by the magistrates.

nal: the commentaries of Dom Calmet, on the Bible, furnished him with the materials. About the same time he drew up for his Sophia, a grammar, and a little treatise on mythology; he also translated Joannes Secundus, and marked out the boundaries of arbitrary power, in his vigorous and masculine work on *Lettres de Cachet*.

At length a period seemed to be put to his literary pursuits—he is refused paper! He found means however, to supply this want, by tearing off the first and last leaves of the books, he was still permitted to have access to. His writings at the same time, at least those we have seen, assumed a closer and fiercer style. He concealed the leaves on which he wrote, in the folds of his clothes, and actually left his prison, with the manuscript of his *Lettres de Cachet*, sewed up in this manner!

His long and expiatory captivity had now blunted the fury of persecution, for the agents of authority began to blush at becoming the instruments of vengeance to a father, whose own conduct gave occasion to the severest reproaches, he himself being the slave of Madame de Pailly, his mistress, who tyrannised over his domesticks, and exiled his family.

The bondage of Mirabeau, was at length dissolved on the 17th of December 1780, and it appears, that he became reconciled to his father, for at this epoch, he spent sixteen months along with him. Indeed, he only quitted the paternal mansion, in order to procure a revocation of the sentence pronounced at Pontarlier, which was finally accomplished on the

14th of August 1782. Sophia at the same time, recovered her marriage portion and her liberty.

After this, Mirabeau returned to Provence, whence he wrote the following billet to his wife: dated, November 6, 1782 :

“Eight years are added to my life since we have lived separate from each other; it will be with great difficulty I shall be brought to believe, that these eight years devoted to misfortune, a title always sacred with a good heart, can have entirely banished me from yours.”

Prayers, eloquence, address, and the mediation of common friends, having proved ineffectual, owing to the obstinacy of her relations; Mirabeau applied in his turn to the laws, and a process scandalous to all parties took place. His advocate happened to be Duport Dutertre; that of Madame Mirabeau was Delacroix, since professor of public law at the Lyceum, and author of a work in five vols. 8vo. entitled, “*Constitutions des principaux Etats de l’Europe, & des Etats—Unis d’Amerique.*”

After losing this suit, Mirabeau set out for London, and it is evident from his letters, that two or three good institutions excepted, he did not think very favourably of England. It was at this period, he became a man of letters, and a publicist by profession as well as by genius. He, indeed, had no longer any other profession; but is not this the first of all? The history of his works, and his life, is henceforth the same.

America

America having obtained its liberty, the generals and officers of the conquering army, meditated the recomposition of a military and hereditary aristocracy, under the title of *The Order of Cincinnatus*. A citizen of South Carolina, pointed out the danger of this new corporation in 1783. It was on the plan of that pamphlet, which was but little known, that Mirabeau, in the course of the next year, published a work in London, entitled, *Considérations sur l'ordre de Cincinnatus*, in which, treating the subject, as a politician and a legislator, he fixed the opinion of mankind on this dangerous innovation, and contributed to save America from the chains which had been forged for her.

An ambitious innovator, tormented with the *mania* of conquests abroad, and reforms at home, Joseph II. in league with Russia, and participating in her dreams of maritime commerce, pretended to revive the navigation of the Scheldt, to make Ostend flourishing, and Amsterdam a desert. Mirabeau opposed these projects with his "*Doutes sur la Liberté de l'Escaut*!" This same prince who pretended to enfranchise the Scheldt, wished to tie down his own subjects to the soil—subjects who on all sides, fled from his political experiments. Mirabeau once more obliged him to listen to truth, and revealed to him, that the only tie of nations was the greatest possible sum of happiness.

After having shewn himself to be a politician, he appeared in the character of a statesman. His writings on the "*Caisse d'Escompte*," the "*Banque de St.*

Charles," "*Actions des eaux*," on all the branches of publick credit, and all the sources of stock-jobbing succeeded each other, like so many rays of light. On these occasions, to the method of Smith, he joined the eloquence of Demosthenes.

The helm of the finances was at this moment directed by Calonne, a minister who possessed great talents without a single grain of publick virtue. Calonne did justice to the genius of Mirabeau, but he dreaded his success; it was on this account that he caused him to be sent into exile in Prussia, by means of an obscure mission, which surrounded him with danger, without the possibility of glory. It was there, that Mirabeau prepared his useful and learned work, "*De la Monarchie Prussienne*;" it was there he collected the details of that internal misery, on which a dazzling grandeur was founded; it was there he discovered those rude but feeble cords employed in moving the decorations that surprise and astonish mankind.

The genius of the great Frederick appreciated that of Mirabeau. William replaced, or rather succeeded Frederick, and soon after his elevation, sent an order to Mirabeau, to depart immediately from his dominions.

The latter having with great difficulty procured sufficient money for his journey, leaves the capital of Prussia, and stopping at Narcy to see the representation of Dido, becomes enamoured with the actress, loses a night, and his purse at her lodgings; borrows that of his secretary; nearly empties it; a wheel

wheel breaks at Bourget; on this he leaves his secretary, his carriage, and his papers behind him, and enters Paris on foot, and without a single *sou*.

On his arrival in France, he instantly perceived the storm that was approaching. His first work after his return was a continuation of his *Dénunciation de l'Agiotage*. In attacking this privileged scourge, he appeared like Hercules stifling Cacus; the return he received from government, was a *lettre de cachet*, which he found means to avoid: his destiny now commenced, and tyranny trembled.

After attacking the reputation of Necker, and beholding liberty germinating in France, and expiring in Holland, he published his "*Avis aux Bataves*." His work entitled "*l'Histoire secrète de la cour de Berlin*," produced new reputation and new persecutions.

The drama of the States-General was now about to be performed, and Mirabeau set out for Provence; excluded from the choice of the nobles by the possessors of the large fiefs, he elevated the standard of the *Communes*, and appeared like a second Marius. No sooner was he returned a member, than he became, as it were, the Jupiter Olympus of the assembly, chaining up or unloosing the storm at his pleasure.

The remainder of his life is known to all the world—it is engrafted in our history. He died of poison, this is at least the general opinion, and even that of many officers of health. His end was great; his last moments were sublime, he seemed to sport

with his own immortality, and in the language of Lucan:

Seque probat Moriens."

M. DUPONT DE NEMOURS,

Like a multitude of others, was one of the sufferers by, and had nearly been one of the victims of Robespierre's tyranny. A *mandat d'arrêt* was issued against him, and his liberty was partly owing to the belief, that he had not escaped the general search, but was either imprisoned at *La Force*, or had been executed after a mock trial.

At this critical period, he composed his "*Oromasis*," a poem without rhyme, in which he exhibits a contest between a good and bad spirit, (*Oromasis* and *Ariman*), and gives the preponderance to the former. The man over whose head, death appeared to be suspended by a single hair, in this little dialogue, points out all the pleasures and advantages, resulting from life.

On his flight, he had recourse to the humanity of two Astronomers; one, a man of deserved celebrity, Jerome Lalande; the other, his assistant, the good and amiable Harmand. There is some reason to suppose, that the place where he was concealed, was no other than a closet belonging to the National Observatory. There was not any bed, and it was with extreme difficulty, that bread and water could be introduced. To add to these inconveniencies, Harmand, who supplied his wants, expected daily to be ordered to join the army, and the solitary prisoner, in that case, would thus have been left with a certainty;

of starving. In this extremity, Lalande once more undertook to risk his own life, in order to save that of a fellow creature.

Having at length escaped from Paris, Dupont found another asylum in the country, and here as usual, he occupied his time with his studies, and wrote his "*Philosophie de l'Univers*," addressed to the celebrated chymist Lavoisier, whose loss he most affectingly deplores *. In this work, after observing, that "philosophy is a religion—the religion of virtue and of nature," he insists, that nothing can exist through, or be created by chance; that this itself is a term made use of, in order to conceal ignorance, for there is no such thing as chance in existence, and that even the throws of a pair of dice, are governed by known and precise rules. In the notes, he inculcates the necessity of a perpetual impulsion, in order to preserve the course of the planets; he also conjectures as to the possibility of the animation of the stars. The remainder contains remarks on the sociability of the fox, on the morality of the ants, their police and economy, their negotiations and treaties; and on the propagation of good actions. "No action (says he) is absolutely insulated—good ones produce a happy series of good ones, and bad, an inevitable series of bad actions."

* "Il a vu ce citoyen vertueux, l'un des hommes les plus éclairés, les plus doux, les plus sages qui aient existé, l'un de ceux qui a le plus constamment, le plus efficacement servi la nation, & le genre humain, et qui s'en occupait encore dans ses derniers momens, périt de la manière la plus injuste, la plus tyrannique, la plus cruelle. Il ne cessera jamais de le pleurer."

“These important truths,” adds he, “result from the philosophy of the universe, and ought to become the basis of universal philosophy.”

Whatever may be the opinion respecting his doctrines, all good men must unite in rejoicing to learn that Dupont de Nemours was restored to society, after the fall of the tyrant Robespierre: but, alas! it was to be involved in fresh calamities; for we believe that he was implicated with the proscribed deputies, and that at this very moment he is either exiled, or at least under a cloud.

JEAN BAPTISTE LOUVET.

Whether we consider his talents, or activity, this must be acknowledged to have been one of the most celebrated of the French senators. Here follows a sketch of his life, as detailed by himself:

“Every thing that a man of sensibility, whose manners were simple, could desire, was obtained by me anterior to the revolution. I lived in the country, of which I was passionately fond. I composed works of literature, the success of which had already laid the foundation of what I termed *my little fortune*: for, like my ambition, it was of a diminutive size. Ardently smitten with the love of independence, I had at length learned that the only way to obtain it was to reduce my wants to as narrow a compass as possible; and I actually contrived to carry my theory into practice, and banished luxury, which I had but too much cherished in the early part of my youth. On the other hand, I invoked sobriety, necessary

necessary to the health of all, and more especially to that of a man of letters, and I had so reduced all my expences, that * 800 franes per ann. were sufficient for my maintenance. The first seven volumes of my † first work, which was printed on my own account, brought me in a greater revenue, and in the spring of 1789, I added six more, which precipitated the sale of the former. The period of the revolution however arrived, and by stifling frivolous publications, diminished my profits from a novel, which, among a variety of light and trifling passages, exhibited a marked attachment to philosophy, and displayed many republican principles at a time when such were very rare. The revolution, if it did not destroy, at least deferred the accomplishment of my hopes; it was not indeed my interest to wish for it; but it was founded on glorious and just motives; and how was it possible to avoid loving it, notwithstanding it thwarted all my expectations? I was accustomed to tell my *fair friend*, that if it retarded our happiness, but forwarded that of the human race, we ought to rejoice. My mistress applauded the idea!

“What a woman! what generosity! what greatness of mind! how worthy of the immortal passion with which she had inspired me! We were brought up together, and our affections increased with our age; but in her sixteenth year she had been married

* About 34l. sterling.

† The Adventures of the Chevalier de Faublas.

to a rich man, who carried her an hundred miles from me. She returned at the end of six years, and our mutual affection, instead of diminishing, had increased.—I might now mention her name, for she is my wife ! and there are no dangers, no persecutions, which she would not participate along with me ; but her innocent family might be exposed to vengeance ; I intend, therefore, to call her *Lodoiska*, after the heroine of my own romance.

“ I was along with her, at the distance of twenty leagues from Paris, when the intelligence of the capture of the Bastille reached our ears. On this I instantly received from her hand a present, precious in every point of view : it was the *three-coloured cockade*. The inexpressible sensation which I felt—the tears which came into my eyes, as she attached the party-coloured ribbands to my hat—were they a *presentiment* of those misfortunes which I should experience some day, on account of events that then affected me but indirectly ? However that may be, this, which was the only cockade worn in a little town devoted to aristocracy, was likely to be productive of disagreeable consequences ; for if the news had not been fully confirmed on the very next day, I should have experienced all the rigours of a criminal prosecution.

“ During a long period I was but a mere spectator ; I had promised to remain always such. Men enow at that time defended the dear interests of their country : those originating in my passion occupied nearly all my time. But Mounier, after the affair of October,

tober, 1789, having endeavoured, in an incendiary publication to accuse Paris, then wholly exempt from blame, instead of courageously denouncing the Orleans faction, solely culpable of the crimes that had sullied a just insurrection: indignation made me take up my pen, and I published a pamphlet entitled * *Paris Justifié*. This produced my admission to the Jacobin Club, where no one was received at that period, but in consequence of real pretensions to *civism*, and the possession of some talents. Residing principally in the country, I frequented its meetings but seldom, and still confined myself to the part of an observer.

" All my works thenceforth, however, were directed towards the revolution. Thus *Emilie de Vermont* was a romance, undertaken to prove the general utility, and sometimes the necessity of *divorce*, as also of *the marriage of priests*. In the same spirit I wrote two comedies. In one of five acts, entitled *L'ANOBLI CONSPIRATEUR, ou le Bourgeois Gentilhomme du dix-huitième siècle*, I attacked, by means of the bitterest sarcasms, the ridiculous prejudices concerning nobility, both old and new; and that, too, two or three months before the decree that abolished it. N——, who, after the revolution of the 31st of May, affirmed that he and the members of the Mountain were the sole republicans, refused to receive it at the *Théâtre de la Nation*, under pretext that it was *incendiary*; and when I

carried it to the *Théâtre Français*, one of the managers observed that it would be necessary to be provided with cannon, in order to perform it*. The other comedy was a gay but pointed satire on the mummeries of the court of Rome: it had for title, *L'ELECTION ET L'AUDIENCE DU GRAND-LAMA SISPI*. The only dramatick trifle, which I could procure to be performed, was a farce called *La grande revue des armées noire et blanche*; it was written with a view to turn the army of Coblentz into ridicule, as may be perceived from the title, and it was represented twenty-five times.

“ On all important occasions I repaired to my section. I also at times spoke there; for aristocracy repaired thither in force, and the patriots were in want of orators. I was one of the first to inscribe my name in the register of the national guard, to furnish my patriotick contribution, and to enter myself a member of the jury of accusation. Thus I fulfilled all the obscure duties of the revolution, avoiding at the same time all its brilliant advantages. I never sought after popularity, but the moment was now come when I was reluctantly obliged to stand forth to publick notice.

“ The greater part of the defenders of liberty had been successively removed: some by death; others by corruption. The Court conspired openly against the constitution which it had accepted. All the parties who laboured to destroy it were assured of the

* “ *Il me faudroit du canon pour jouer cette pièce.*”

support of the Monarch. I was one of that small number of hardy philosophers who, at the conclusion of 1791, had deplored the fate of a great nation, obliged to stop in the midst of its career of liberty, and to call itself enfranchised, while it still retained a court and a king! Happy, however, in having reformed so many ancient abuses, I had, like many others, heartily promised fidelity to this emasculated constitution, hoping that time alone would produce a cure to our yet remaining wounds, without agitation, and without hemorrhage. Yes! I swear by that Heaven which reads the inward sentiments of man, that if the Court had not a thousand times tried to ravish our *half-liberty* from us, I should never have expected our entire liberation, but from time alone. But it became incontestible that it conspired, and, not content with fomenting internal commotions, it called in foreign aid. In this predicament, who could refuse to join the too feeble battalion that still combated for our country?

“ From that moment I entered the lists, and became a party in the terrible contest. Indignant at the manœuvres of those nobles who, in order to re-establish the most horrible abuses, were endeavouring to arm Europe against their native land, I appeared at the bar of the Legislative Assembly on the 25th of December, 1792, and presented *ma pétition contre les Princes* (my petition against the Princes). Both in the senate, and throughout the empire, the effect was prodigious; and this, as well as two other petitions of mine, were printed by order of the Assembly.

sembly. In January, 1792, during a discussion of the utmost importance, I also appeared in the tribune of that celebrated society, where I had hitherto remained mute.

“ The grand question respecting a war with Austria was soon after discussed, and this gave occasion to the famous schism, between the *Robespierrian* faction and the party of the *Brissotines*. I took part in this debate against Robespierre, and reduced him to silence; from that moment he became my mortal enemy, and let loose a gang of calumniators against the *new orator*. I however obtained some of the honours of the club, for I was elected first, secretary, and afterwards vice-president.

Roland, Servan, Clavierre, at this time were in administration, and I was to have been appointed minister of justice; but on the preceding evening I was denounced at the Jacobins as an emigrant — Although I victoriously refuted this assertion, and was listened to with attention and applause, Duranton was preferred to this important office. By what strange fatality is the destiny of an empire connected with that of a single man? Had I been minister of justice, I should certainly have sided with Roland, participated in his honourable disgrace, obtained the publick esteem, been restored to office with him on the 10th of August, and then *royalism in disguise* should never have perpetrated the horrors of September on the cradle of the republick; the faction of the Cordeliers should not have produced the election of the deputies of Paris by means
of

of terror; the English government, unable to excite its people against us, would have sought in vain for a pretext to commence hostilities; Robespierre, had he not altered his conduct, must have succumbed along with Pache, Chaumette, Hebert, Marat, and a crowd of vile wretches in the pay of foreign powers. The foundations of the republick would then have been laid!

"The minister* of the home department wished to become acquainted with me. War had been declared. The court palpably engaged in a league with Austria, betrayed our armies; it was absolutely necessary to enlighten the people on the subject of so many different plots, and I accordingly became editor of (*La Sentinelle*) THE SENTINEL†. The minister bore the expence, and of some of the numbers upwards of 20,000 were printed. Those who have studied Paris and the departments are well aware of the service of this journal to France at that epoch, when foreign powers, emboldened by their internal connections, menaced a total overthrow.

"When Dumouriez, wishing to reign alone, procured the ministers Servan, Claviere, and Roland, to be turned out, his friends attempted to corrupt me with the offer of the embassy to Constantinople; but in the very next Sentinel I attacked the conduct of this minister, and from that moment I heard no

* Roland.

† This was what is termed *Un Journal-affiché*, being posted on the walls, &c.

more of my diplomattick mission to the Grand Signor! Nearly at the same period Guadet and Brissot wished to send me as commissioner to St. Domingo, and on my refusal Santhonax was appointed.

“ At length the insurrection of the 10th of August took place, on which occasion I contributed to save the Swiss guards, whom the satellites of Orleans, who had fled at first, returned to massacre, as soon as the engagement was at an end. I made several of these unfortunate foreigners file along the windows of the Assembly, whence they passed into the diplomattick committee-room, in the closets of which they were concealed by Brissot and Genfonné — Danton appeared, when the victory was declared, at the head of the battalion of *Marfellois*, armed with a large sabre, as if he had been the hero of the day; as to Robespierre, still more cowardly and hypocritical, he dared not to show his face until four-and-twenty hours after the combat;—this, however, did not prevent him from attributing to himself the whole merit of the success in the council of the *commune*, whither he repaired the next day but one, in order to act the part of a despot.

“ And on the 2d of September, it was he who menaced us all. The frightful Robespierre proscribed us in the tribune; Marat passed sentence of death upon us. The punishment of Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, Condorcet, Roland, and his wife; that of Lodoiska and myself, was also decided upon.

Vile

Vile impostors! infamous royalists! were we then federalists?

“ Soon after the first meeting of the Convention, I denounced Robespierre; fifty deputies attested the facts mentioned by me; and the coward, thinking his last moment was approaching, came to the *tribune*, in order to demand mercy. Had but Pethion—whose immense influence was not even then destroyed, and whom I called upon several times—had he but told publicly one quarter of what he knew, Robespierre and his accomplice, Marat, would have been instantly decreed in a state of accusation, and the Republick saved!—The future dictator demanded eight days to prepare a reply: when this term had elapsed, he filled all the tribunes with male and female Jacobins; and although he spoke for two hours, did not say a word in answer. I hoped to have overwhelmed him in my rejoinder; but the *Girondists* arose along with the *Mountain*, in order to prevent me from being heard, as they imagined our triumph complete.—This, however, did not prevent me from writing, and I accordingly published what I intended to have said, under the form of a letter addressed to *Maximilian Robespierre and his Royalists* (*A Maximilien Robespierre et à ses Royalistes*).

“ Nearly at the same time Buzot and I attacked the faction in the most sensible part. We demanded and obtained the decree for the expulsion of the Bourbons. A revolt on the part of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, and the Commune, forced us to re-

peal it; but it was attended at least with this advantage, that the motives of the *Mountain* were now discovered.

“ Assuredly I had well earned the honour of being expelled from the Jacobins, and my name was accordingly erased on the same day with that of Roland and many other patriots.

“ At the trial of Capet, Salle moved the appeal to the people; I supported him: my reasons are publick, and it is now easy to decide whether my predictions have not been verified by events.

“ At length Dumouriez joined the Orleans’ party, and thus threw his weight into the scale of our enemies. The 10th of March was not far off, and the heads of twenty-two deputies were promised on that day to Cobourg; we were only saved by the battalion of Brest. This affair was in some measure hushed up by the Girondists, for fear of *driving violent men into still greater excesses*. On this occasion I drew up a denunciation of the plot of the 10th of March, but was not allowed to speak, and, as usual, was obliged to have recourse to the press*. All the conjectures hazarded by me, at that period, have become so many predictions, and it is impossible to describe the rage of the conspirators when it appeared. I however was not sufficiently supported by the assertors of liberty on this occasion, and as I now foresaw that our fall was at hand, and our discomfiture inevitable, I was accustomed to say daily to

* The title of this pamphlet is, *A la Convention Nationale, et à mes Cammettans sur la Conspiration du 10 Mars et la Faction d'Orleans*.

my dear Lodoiska,—‘ Our friends rush towards the scaffold, and I would separate myself from them instantly, were I not conscious that their party is that of duty and of virtue.’

“ In the mean time Dumouriez, who, while it served the purposes of his ambition had been a staunch republican, now thirsted for our blood. An inhabitant of Bourdeaux, who happened to be a friend of Guadet, and was taken at the battle of Nerwienden, brought us intelligence that the staff officers of Cobourg’s army flattered themselves with the expectation, that in a short time the heads of twenty-two members of the Convention would be cut off. Judge then of our surprise, when, a little afterwards, Pache appeared at the head of the *pretended* sections of Paris, and presented his famous petition, in which twenty-two of us were proscribed!

I had long anticipated all the horrors of the 31st of May: they occurred, however, at a time when I had almost ceased to expect them. On the night between the 30th and 31st the storm announced itself so palpably, that I was under the necessity of sleeping from home — A detached chamber, containing three wretched beds, but a sufficiency of arms, and inclination for defence, received Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, Rabaut St. Etienne, and myself. At three o’clock in the morning we were awoke by the noise of the *tocfin*; at six we descended from our garret, and passed along the Thuilleries to the Convention, where threats *only* were uttered against us. Next

day, as I entered the hall, I learned that the female citizen Roland had been arrested. From that moment I was convinced that the career of crime was about to commence: I therefore engaged the principal persons proscribed to re-unite, and we accordingly dined together for the last time. Less occupied with our repast than the present critical situation of publick affairs, we began to consider of our future conduct, when the *tocsin* once more sounded the alarm, and was heard on all sides. A moment after, some one brought Brissot the false intelligence that seals had been put on all our papers. Notwithstanding I trembled lest my Lodoiska should be arrested, I urged my opinions, succinctly, but warmly. Henceforth, I said, we could be of no service in the Convention, where the Mountain and the galleries would not permit us to utter a single word; our appearance there would only animate the hopes of the conspirators, who would be charmed to seize the whole of their prey at the same time. There was nothing further to be done in Paris, as it was entirely governed by a faction, which had made itself master of the armed force, and the constituted authorities—it was a *departmental insurrection which could alone save all France!*

“ After providing for the safety of her who was dearer to me than my own life, I secreted myself during a fortnight, at the house of an old friend, who in his youth had been assisted by my father: three weeks more were spent with a brave young man, on whose fidelity I could rely.

“ In

“ In the mean time the indignant departments began to talk of vengeance. Buzot, who had not been seized, and Barbaroux, who had escaped from his keepers, were along with Gorsas at Caen, and headed the insurrection of the West. I myself, having received passports from that place, left Paris on the 24th of June. At Meulan, we were obliged to change our carriage, and the new coachman proved to be a furious *Maratist*, who was continually pouring forth imprecations against those *rogues of deputies*, who were repairing to the departments, in order to inflame them.

“ Having arrived at Caen on the 26th, we found that eight coalesced departments had already sent their commissaries thither, and their armed force was about to follow. Wimpfen, the General in Chief, had hitherto confined all his exploits to fine words. I soon saw, and indeed he made no secret of it, that he was nothing more or less than a *Royalist*; my colleagues allowed him to be one, but added at the same time, that *he was a man of honour*. From that moment I perceived what must evidently occur, and, had my wife been along with me, we should have taken our passage to America, and been at this moment, perhaps, in Philadelphia.

“ At length Wimpfen declared himself, and promised us men, arms, ammunition, and money, *if we would but negotiate with England*. The other deputies now opened their eyes to the snare laid for them, and the defection of the administrators of Calvados, and the acceptance of the new constitution

by the Primary Assemblies rendered our stay in Caen extremely hazardous. We accordingly accepted the invitation of the *Bretons*, who were about to return to their own country, and resolved to accompany them thither, armed like themselves.

“ After a few marches, we arrived at Vires, where having learned that the Mountain had arrested all those attached to us, I trembled for the fate of my wife; but she arrived at midnight, most unexpectedly, and thus released me from all my fears. At Fongeres, the battalions separated, and we proceeded with that of Finisterre to Dol, hoping to be able to reach Quimper, whence Kervelegan our colleague, who had gone thither some days before, would be able to get us a passage to Bourdeaux. At Autrain, about two hundred Jacobins entered into a plot to disarm the federates, and send the proscribed deputies to Paris; but we doubled the posts and the patrols, and prevented the conspiracy from taking effect.

“ A little before our entrance into Dol, we received intelligence that the Municipality had sent to St. Maloes for a body of troops, in order to seize us; but we marched into the place with screwed bayonets, and drew up in battle array before the town house. At Dinan, we were well received by the inhabitants, who furnished us with excellent beds; next morning, however, the battalion began to dispute about us, and several observed, that to protect the proscribed deputies was to violate the laws. On this we signified our resolution to depart by ourselves across the country to Quimper; but they would not permit

permit us, for they not only presented us with arms, but also offered us money, and insisted that six of them should accompany us as guides. Having sent my Lodoiska forward by the great road, we struck off at Jugon, and after a variety of adventures, escaping sometimes by artifice, and sometimes by dint of resolution, we at length arrived at Quimper, in the neighbourhood of which we were concealed in the hut of a peasant. Exposed every moment to the denunciations of the malignant, and the daggers of assassins; imagining that my end approached, and that I should be dragged to a scaffold, which must inevitably have been the case, had I fallen into the hands of my implacable enemies, I was seized at this period with a fit of melancholy, and actually composed my *death-song*, which I intended to have sung on my way to execution:

AIR,—*Veillons au salut de l'Empire.*

- ‘ Des vils oppresseurs de la France,
- ‘ J’ai dénoncé les attentats :
- ‘ Ils sont vainqueurs, et leur vengeance
- ‘ Ordonne aussi-tôt mon trépas.
- ‘ Liberté ! Liberté ! reçois donc mon dernier hommage :
- ‘ Tyrans, frappez, l’homme libre enviera mon destin :
- ‘ Plutôt la mort que l’esclavage,
- ‘ C’est le vœu d’un Républicain !
- ‘ Si j’avois servi leur furie,
- ‘ Ils m’auroient prodigué de l’or ;
- ‘ J’aimai mieux servir ma patrie,
- ‘ J’aimai mieux recevoir la mort.
- ‘ Liberté ! Liberté ! quelle âme à ton feu ne s’anime !
- ‘ Tyrans, frappez, l’homme libre enviera mon destin :
- ‘ Plutôt le trépas que le crime,
- ‘ C’est le vœu d’un républicain !

Et

- Et toi, qu'à regret je délaisse,
- Amante, si chère à mon cœur :
- Bannis toute indigne foiblesse,
- Sois plus forte que ta douleur.
- Liberté ! Liberté ! ranimé et soutiens son courage !
- Pour toi, pour moi, qu'elle porte le poids de ses jours ;
- Son sein, peut-être, enfermé un gage,
- L'unique fruit de nos amours !
- Digne épouse, sois digne mère,
- Prends ton élève en son berceau !
- Rêdis-lui souvent que son père
- Mourut du trépas le plus beau !
- Liberté ! Liberté ! qu'il t'offre son plus pur hommage !
- Tyrans, tremblez, redoutez un enfant généreux !
- Plutôt la mort que l'esclavage,
- Sera le premier de ses vœux !
- Qui, si d'un nouveau Robespierre,
- Ton pays étoit tourmenté,
- Mon fils, ne venge point ton père,
- Mon fils, venge la Liberté !
- Liberté ! Liberté ! qu'un succès meilleur l'accompagne,
- Tyrans, fuyez, emportez vos enfans odieux !
- Plutôt la mort que la Montagne,
- Sera le cri de nos neveux !
- Oni, des bourreaux de l'Abbaye,
- Les succès affreux seront courts !
- Un monstre effrayoit sa patrie,
- Une fille a tranché ses jours !
- Liberté ! Liberté ! que ton bras sur eux se promène !
- Tremblez, tyrans, vos forfaits appellent nos vertus !
- Marat est mort chargé de haine,
- Corday vit auprès de Brutus !
- Mais la foule se presse et crie ;
- Peuple infortuné, je t'entends !
- Adieu, ma famille chérie,
- Adieu, mes amis de vingt ans !

- ‘ Liberté ! Liberté, pardonne à la foule abusée !
‘ Mais, vous tyrans ! le Midi peut encore vous punir :
‘ Moi je m’en vais dans l’Elyée,
‘ Avec Sydney, m’entretenir ! ’

“ At length an opportunity offered to effect our escape: it was impossible, however, to carry my Lodoiska along with me. I therefore bade her adieu, and embarked on board a small vessel, along with Gaudet, Buzot, Pethion, and Barbaroux, for Bourdeaux. Our dangers, however, instead of being lessened, seemed to redouble. We were constantly in imminent danger of being taken by the English, in which case, to avoid all suspicion of collusion with our implacable enemy, we had determined to put ourselves to death, rather than fall into their hands. At one time, we fell in with the Brest fleet; at another, we were nearly forced by a storm to take refuge at Rochelle, where we should instantly have been recognised, and when at length we joined the convoy, which we intended to have sailed with originally, the captain of one of the frigates eagerly enquired if there were any passengers on board. We arrived at length, however, in the river of Bourdeaux, and to avoid being searched by the men of war, or stopped by the garrison of Fort de Blaye, we went on shore at Bec d’Ambez, in the yawl, which was so small as to endanger our lives.

“ We were now in this famous department of the Gironde; and here, we not only deemed ourselves in perfect surety, but in a situation to combat the enemies of our country. In short, we had nearly
knekt

knelt down on landing, and kissed the earth we longed so much to behold. O! unhappy mortals! your joys are sometimes as ill-founded as your sorrows!

“ The mansion where we intended to reside, and which was at some distance from the city, belonged to a relation of Guadet; but nobody being at home to receive us, we were forced to repair to a sorry ale-house. There we learned, that the Maratists had attained the superiority at Bourdeaux; that the members of the municipality and department had betaken themselves to flight; that *Châteaueu-Trompette* and *Fort-Blaye*, had surrendered, and that the deputies of the mountain had entered with a body of troops. Our arrival was soon buzzed about, and we were obliged once more to provide for our safety. Guadet and Pethion, sallied out for that purpose, but they could not find any one courageous enough to entertain us during even a single night! What added to our confusion, was the intelligence, that troops and cannon, were actually sent against us, and this was really the case, for they arrived immediately after our departure.

“ Having crossed the Dordogne in the ferry-boat, we learned that fifty horsemen were in pursuit of us; we therefore took refuge in a quarry where we remained in safety, for as it happened to be a Sunday, the labourers were not at work. There we held a solemn consultation, and soon perceived, that in order to escape, it would be absolutely necessary, to divide. Petion and Buzot, agreed to wander together, I

knew

knew not whither; Salles and Guadet resolved to repair towards Landes; Barbaroux and Valady joined themselves to me. Our sole object was to gain time, for we deemed the frightful triumph of the mountain so inconceivable, that we did not think it possible, that it could last for a single fortnight. After embracing, we accordingly separated. Barbaroux was to pass for a professor of mineralogy, a science he was well acquainted with, his companions for two merchants, who were travelling along with him, in order to speculate on the mines he might discover. But merchants on foot, and travelling during the night! Fifty leagues of country to pass through, by the assistance of such a fable as this! And Barbaroux so well known, and so easy to be discovered! The project was desperate, and protecting Heaven prevented us from carrying it into execution, for after walking four hours, we found that we had missed our road. A rectory was at some distance, and we resolved to knock at the door; it was opened by a worthy constitutional *curé*, who instantly perceiving that we were persecuted men, received us with great hospitality, and detained us for two days. At the end of that period, he conducted us to the house of a peasant, whose wife was afraid to give us an asylum; we then took refuge in a hay-loft, belonging to a farm, and there intended to have put an end to our lives, but Barbaroux, reminding me of my wife, and I recalling to him the image of his venerable mother, we deferred the horrid deed.

“At length I came to a decided resolution, to make

an attempt to reach Paris, and rather encounter all the dangers of so perilous a journey, than remain in the present horrid state we were in, I therefore instantly threw away every thing that might encumber me in the journey; I kept, however, my national great coat, and disguised my face under a little jacobite wig*; after this, having pressed Guadet and Salles to my heart, I opened my pocket-book, and parting a few *assignats* with the latter, who was still poorer than myself, I set off along the great road that leads to the capital. It was necessary I should pass through *Mont-Pont*, and at break of day I held out a bad passport, for the inspection of the sentinel, who luckily happened to be asleep. Soon after this, I entered a small village, where I obtained a good fire and a breakfast, at a little publick house; I also found pen and ink there, and by their means completed my passport, describing the citizen Larcher (the name I had assumed) as a brave *sans-culottes*. At Mussidau, the mistress of the sorry inn, where I put up, endeavoured to discover my sentiments, in the most insidious manner, by praising Charlotte Corday, and abusing Marat, but I swore in the true style of Pere Duchesne, and menaced her with the guillotine. Next day, when I had payed the bill, and was preparing to depart, she went hastily out, and brought in an overgrown peasant, whom she called the citizen-mayor, who luckily for me could not read!

“Perceiving I was likely to escape, through his ignorance, she immediately sent for the *Procureur-*

* Une petite ferruque jacobite.

Syndic, and actually introduced the whole municipality one by one, but I supplied them with liquor, which I was now under the necessity of calling for, and had acquired the confidence of the chief magistrate to such a degree, that I was considered by all as a most excellent jacobin, and wished a good journey accordingly.

“ Nothing new occurred until I arrived at Périgueux, a very dangerous place for me, but I luckily passed through the suburbs, and arrived at a hamlet called *les Tavernes*; the keeper of the ale-house was asleep, and I had no sooner awoken him, and asked for a bed, than he demanded my passport. When he had examined it, he instantly discovered, that it had not been presented to the *constituted authorities*, at PÉRIGUEUX, and threatened to conduct me thither. A carrier, however, who happened to be present, interfered in my behalf, procured me a sorry matrafs, for which I was obliged to pay beforehand, and took me under his protection next morning. After observing *that I did not look like a thief*, he placed me in his cart which had a tilt over it; and as he was well known on the road, he conducted me through Thiviers and Aix, at neither of which places I was stopped, and we at length arrived in safety at Limoges, which was his place of residence.

“ Supposing me one of the merchants who had been plundered at Bourdeaux, he concealed me in his house, for three whole days, until he could find a convenient opportunity to convey me to Paris. At the end of that time his wife, who trembled for the

consequences, invented a story, in order to get rid of me, and when I discovered the trick conjured me not to reveal it to her husband. He himself arrived soon after, and informed me with an oath, that he had prevailed on a good fellow of a postillion, to carry me all the way to the capital, adding, that I was to pass as a *smuggler*. Next morning by two o'clock he was at my bed side, and after forcing me to assist him in dispatching a couple of bottles of wine, and filling my pockets with bread, meat, and chesnuts, he presented me with a pair of woollen gloves, and a cotton night-cap, which I still have in my possession. At break of day, we set forward, and having made a circuit, in order to avoid a guard-house and some military posts in the neighbourhood, we at length arrived at a little inn, where my new conductor waited for us. After the other had delivered me into his hands, and repeated his recommendations a thousand times over, he embraced, and even wept over me. I also wept. How sweet are the tears of gratitude !—At length we bid adieu to each other. Adieu brave and most excellent *sans-culottes*, replete with generosity and sensibility ; such ought to be, such would have been all, if wicked men had not perverted your minds ! Should he in his turn, be ever persecuted, just God ! repay him in his misfortunes, for that succour he conferred on me during mine.

“ My new guide, possessed courage, and dexterity, but his carriage, which proved to be a heavy old machine, was not so well calculated for concealment

as the former. Add to this, that we could only travel at a slow pace, must therefore be long on the road, and that I had no less than seven companions ! All the seven too, were perpetually at variance, and agreed only in one point—they deemed themselves honoured by being jacobins, and indeed, they were jacobins in no small degree !

“ At the entrance of every town, at every guard-house, at every post, at every place where passports were demanded, I was obliged to conceal myself under the great coats of these mountaineers, and the petticoats of their wives. This was the only way, that a *deserter*, (and such I pretended to be) could escape detection. At Bois-Remont, at Argenton, at Chateau-Roux, I escaped with great difficulty, and the nearer we approached Paris, the stricter was the search.

“ We now entered a department, where I had been elected by the people, while they were still free ; I had perhaps exhibited some courage in fulfilling the duties they had entrusted me with, and I was returning to them, in disguise, a fugitive, and a proscribed man. Orleans, the chief town of the district, through which we were to pass, contained my most bitter enemies—if one of them perceived me, I was lost for ever !

“ On our arrival the gates were still shut, by way of precaution, for during the preceding night a *domiciliary visit* had taken place, and forty *Louvetines*, had been arrested, and were soon to meet their doom. Thus my very name led to destruction.

“ After undergoing the usual examination, we passed through, and were preparing to leave the place by the gate of *Bannier*, when we were again stopped. One of the company remarked, that our passport had already been examined ; “ that is not sufficient,” cried the officer aloud, “ all the passengers must alight !” Every male but myself having descended, the same voice exclaimed, “ the ladies also must follow !” I now thought that my end was fast approaching, for the women having necessarily carried their petticoats along with them, one half of my person was exposed to view. I however found means to throw some straw over my legs and feet, and spread a great coat around my body and head. Having done this, I drew out my pistol, and placing the muzzle in my mouth, I gave a sigh to my dear country, to my adored wife a tear, a thought to a remunerating Providence, and then waited for the awful period of my dissolution, for I had determined to draw the trigger in case I should have been discovered ! The jacobin searcher however missed me, notwithstanding he trod once or twice on my shoulder, and actually tossed three or four parcels on my head. After this severe trial, the ladies and gentlemen who began to consider themselves as little better than my accomplices, resumed their seats, and the driver, who fully expected to be guillotined, rejoiced exceedingly when he found himself again safely mounted on his horse.

“ At Etampes the carriage was once more searched, but not with such rigorous scrupulosity, as at Orleans ;

leans ; to make amends for this, however, we were stopped in the middle of the street, until the troops, who were drawn out to do honour to one of the deputies of the mountain, had filed off, and what added not a little to my terrour, this same deputy, who proved to be no other than * * * * *, was my most bitter enemy. Had this *brigand*, urged by the genius of malevolence, advanced but a few steps further, he must undoubtedly have discovered me—what joy for him ! what a present for the foreign kings, and the kings of the mountain !

“ To avoid detection, I passed that night in the stable ; next day, we dined at the *croix de Bernis*, where I was once more subjected to great uneasiness, by two travellers, one of whom looking at me, enquired of his companion, if he mistook him for a romance writer ? while the other, replied by a song from my own *Faublas* :

“ Est-ce crainte, est-ce indifférence ?

“ Je voudrois bien le devenir,” &c.

“ On recollecting, however, that it was not by pleasantries of this kind that an enemy would make me comprehend I was discovered, I became easy, and in this situation of mind continued my journey towards Paris.

“ The visit at the barriers frightened us all, and we had adopted a variety of precautions ; but they proved unnecessary, for we were allowed to enter the capital without a single question being asked us. In *Rue d’Enfer* I thanked my fellow travellers a thousand times, and alighted under the walls of the Chartreux,

Chartreux, in a place but little frequented. ‘ Brave man,’ said I to the postillion, ‘ you have run great risks, but God is my witness that you have done a good action. I wish it were in my power to recompense you according to my wishes !’— On saying this I presented him with my last *assignat* of 100 franks, and added a gold watch of six times the value. He then shook me heartily by the hand, and declared that he would have been contented if he had never received a single *sol*; he even wished to embrace me at parting, but I signified to him how imprudent it would be, and he accordingly desisted.

“ At two o’clock in the afternoon of the sixth of December, I got into a hackney coach and went in search of my Lodoïska. ‘ If I do not find her,’ said I to myself, ‘ I shall at least procure an asylum with friends who are attached to me, and whom I have known for twenty years. They doubtless imagine that I have perished, and they will weep with pleasure on seeing me return safe and sound. Why then does not my heart palpitate with joy? and what is this melancholy presentiment that now overwhelms me?’

“ Such were my ideas when discharging the coach I knocked at a certain door, and asked if Citizen Bremont (for so I shall call him) lived there? A son of one of the deputies, who had brought the boy along with him frequently to the assembly, appeared, and answered me in the negative, at the same time pointing to the place to which he had removed, and

and observing that his father, whose foot I heard, as he came forward, could inform me more on this subject. I did not wait for his arrival, but instantly precipitating myself down stairs, was in the street in a moment. By the assistance of a female servant, I at length found the house, and the first voice that I heard was that of my Lodoiska. I enter—I rush into her arms; she utters a shriek, throws herself at my feet, which she embraces; then rises, presses me to her heart, and bursts into tears. I no longer know what dread is, amidst this delirium of joy. O God! thou hast compensated me for all my sufferings! thou hast rewarded me for all my labours!

“ The mistress of the mansion, the nephews, the niece, make their appearance; they all weep with, and embrace us.

“ At length I am permitted to take some repose; but as it was necessary that fresh linen should be procured, my wife leaves the apartment, and returns soon after with a melancholy aspect, observing, that all the young people had fled from the house, particularly the girl, whom we had always treated like our own daughter, and to whom, in better days, we intended to have left our little all. At half an hour after ten o’clock, I was awoke from a profound sleep by my wife, who said, ‘ My dear friend, muster up all your resolution, for you never had so much occasion for it as at this present moment, as I am now to announce to you the most cruel, and perhaps the most unexpected, of all your misfortunes. Bre-

‘ mont,

‘ mont, who has just returned, gives you half an
‘ hour to leave this apartment; for these are his own
‘ express words. It is the companion of your father,
‘ it is he who saw you born, it is our ancient friend,
‘ who refuses to entertain—who dreads to see you,
‘ and who will send us both to the *Place de la Ré-*
‘ *volution* *!’

“ I at first thought that this could be nothing else than a dream; however, my surprise was instantly succeeded by indignation; but my Lodoiska, in soothing accents, assuaged my fury, by offering to die along with me. At length I told her, in a calm but resolute tone of voice, that as after the *retreat was beaten*, it was impossible to walk the streets in safety without a civick card, I was determined not to stir that night. As to Mr. Bremont, if he was afraid, he might sleep from home, for he could find no difficulty in procuring a bed from some friend. There was indeed another way of getting rid of me,—instead of sending me out to meet with my assassins, he might bring them to me.

“ On hearing this repeated from the mouth of my wife, he instantly turned pale, sallied forth, and did not return for two days.—‘ O Gaudet!’ exclaimed I, ‘ my poor Gaudet! you complained of your friends; I wish you had but seen mine!’

“ Next day, before seven o’clock in the evening, the same gallant young man, who had already concealed me some time before my departure for Caen,

* Where Robespierre’s victims were butchered.

took me once more under his protection; but he could only keep me three days, on account of a Maratist who lived in the adjoining apartment. One of my wife's friends then received me; but she took fright the second day. At the end of that period, my wife herself, who had hired an apartment under her maiden name, came to take me away, although our new lodgings were not as yet ready.

“ The delicate hands of my Lodoiska, as it may be easily supposed, had never been accustomed to lath, nails, or plaster; in five days, however, she alone, without any assistance (for, being short-sighted, I could be of no service to her) finished a *concealment*, so well planned, and so artfully put together, that it might have passed for the master-piece of an experienced workman. In short, without previous information, it was impossible to discover that any body was there! Into this place I dashed in an instant, when any one knocked at our outer door. The ‘Georgicks of Virgil,’ the ‘Gardens of Delisle,’ the ‘Idylls of Gesner,’—paper, pens, and some provisions, were all provided for me; and an instrument, somewhat like the valve of a pump, supplied me with air, whenever I had occasion for it. How many *outlaws*, on condition of being permitted to remain in this place, would have undertaken never to have left it!

“ This, however, could be no security, in case of an *information*, for Amar, or Hebert, would soon have killed me, by setting fire to a bundle of wet straw.

“ Luckily there was still in existence a man, who during my prosperity, literary and political, had never affected to be my friend; but who interested himself in my behalf, as soon as he perceived me to be in distress. Ten years before, I had done him a little favour, he now repaid it by a great one. My wife had imagined that since it was become extremely difficult, if not impossible, for us to realise our project of repairing to America, that the only place in France, where I could remain in safety, was the department of Jura. F**** entered with eagerness into the scheme, and never gave himself a single moment’s rest until he had accomplished it. In less than a fortnight, every difficulty vanished before his invincible activity. Accordingly, on the 6th of Feb. 1794, exactly two months after my return to Paris, all things necessary for the expedition, such as a passport, carriage, &c. were ready. We parted next day at dawn; I say, *we parted*, for he accompanied me to the mountains, being determined either to establish me in safety, or perish along with me.

“ At the end of the *Rue Charenton*, I left my Lodoiska in a hackney-coach, for she was determined to accompany me so far, and it was prudent to proceed a little way on foot, in order that the examination at the barrier might be less strict.

“ In the village of *Charenton*, I met my brave friend, who waited for me there, and we entered *Villeneuve St. George* together. A commissary of the executive power was in waiting there, in order

to examine all the passengers who travelled either in their own, or in stage-coaches; he was a Jacobin, and might have recognised me, but, luckily for us, he did not dishonour himself so much as to examine foot-passengers. We were only conducted to the officer of the guard, who made no difficulty in permitting two soldiers to pass—*two soldiers*; for F*** was dressed in uniform. As for me, along with a large pair of pantaloons of black wool, I wore a short vest, of the same manufacture; an under-waistcoat, of the national colours; a *jacobin scratch*, of black hair, made expressly for the purpose: in short, I was provided with the *red bonnet*, a pair of monstrous mustachios, which I had permitted to grow during my seclusion, and an enormous sabre. If in this dress I resembled any thing, it surely was not a *Muscadin*. All this, at that period, constituted the habiliments of the greatest patriots, and formed what was called a *complete Carmagnol*.

“During the first ten leagues, we travelled on foot; we then entered the stage, and were soon after carried before the municipal officers. A member of the committee of publick inspection examined the passports, and detained mine, until all the other passengers had departed. He then shook my hand in a *significant* manner, and wished that I might perform my journey *in safety*.

“After a variety of adventures, we at length began to scale *Jura*, and learned that the road in many places above, was covered with three feet of snow.—

We proceeded, nevertheless, and soon arrived at the place destined for my retreat.

“ If he had deigned to cast an eye for a single moment on me, the DIVINITY HIMSELF would have enjoyed his own works. It was not perhaps a spectacle different to his justice—that of a free man, and one fond of every thing virtuous, at length snatched from the swords of dictators and robbers!

“ From the impenetrable asylum of the profound cavern, where I could behold, and touch as it were the ancient Helvetia: at the first noise—at the least alarm I could precipitate myself upon a neutral territory, and no sooner had the enemy disappeared, than I might resume my retreat, and re-enter the bosom of my country.

“ All was solitude around, but love and hope were still left me. For the first six weeks I heard but once from my wife; five more passed away in misery little short of despair, when on the 21st of May—a day I shall ever remember—a man, who was like myself a victim of tyranny, a friend whom I had got acquainted with amidst these woods and fastnesses, carried me along with him, under I know not what pretext, to a rising ground at some considerable distance.

‘ You permit your chagrin to get the better of you,’ says he, ‘ and yet your misfortunes are far from being certain. I could lay any wager, that you will see your wife in a very short time!’

“ Never, citizen; never.

“ On

“ On this he stopped, and fixing his eye on some distant object, proceeded thus:—‘ I behold an open chaise, in which are seated a female, and a person who conducts her: it is perhaps your Lodoiska.’—In the mean time the carriage approaches, the whip of the driver cracks, and in a few minutes a voice—Great God! that of one of those celestial spirits depicted by Milton, would not have left a more ravishing impression on my ear—cries out, *Stop!*—I instantly start forward; it is Lodoiska, who springs out—who jumps into my arms. What a delightful burden!

“ Alas! however, she remains with me but three days; at the end of that period, she returns once more, and brings me most extraordinary intelligence. It is then certain that there exists a remunerating Providence! Chaumette, La Croix, Marat, all their vile accomplices, all my cruel persecutors, are no more! But what do I say? the most cruel of them still breathes;—he reigns—he tyrannises.

“ O God, if it be thy will, above all things save my country!”

“ O Dieu, si tu veux, avant tout sauver mon pays!”

[*The above finished in the caverns, on the 22d of July, 1794, a few days before the fall of Robespierre.*]

After being thus proscribed, a fugitive, in distress for bread, destitute of money, and often devoid of friends and consolation; concealed sometimes in the

grottoes of the Gironde, and sometimes in the caverns of * Jura; Louvet had the good fortune to survive Robespierre, and soon after the *Thermidorean Revolution* he re-appeared once more in Paris.

Here follows a translation of his celebrated letter to the Convention:

“ 20th *Frimaire*, 3d Year of the Republick,
one and indivisible.

“ Representatives,

“ At the voice of the liberators of the 9th Thermidor, the republicans arise from their tombs; I also demand that you should restore me to the use of *fire and water* †.

“ Hebert mustered all his blood-hounds; Pache denounced me; Henriot armed himself against you, in order to seize on me; Couthon decreed my arrest; St. Just enumerated my crimes; Amar drew up my act of proscription; Barrere outlawed me.

“ The first who pointed out to you the despot; the crimes which he had committed—the still greater which he intended to commit, was myself. Will you refuse me the liberty of repelling the calumny of the tyrant in your presence? Will you bereave me

* It was in the grottoes of St. Emillion, in the beginning of November, 1793, that Louvet wrote the first part of his work, entitled “ *Quelques Notices pour L'Histoire, et le récit de mes périls depuis le 31 Mai.*” He finished the latter part of it, in company with his wife, in the retreat which he had obtained amidst the mountains of Jura.

† This alludes to the interdiction of these elements to the *proscribed*, during the tyranny of the triumvirs and the emperours.

of those forms which were even allowed to Carrier himself! No, no; you are just, for you are free.

“ Amar and Barrere are still among you; oblige them, for the first time, to look their victim in the face; constrain them at length to accuse me, when I myself am present; not before the troop of assassins which they called a *tribunal*, but before judges, acknowledged for their integrity, impartial and unobjectionable: let a decree enforce this solemn confrontation between them and me, and I shall hasten to obey it.

“ I mention not the thousand perils, the innumerable misfortunes which I have survived, as so many others have endured still greater than myself. As for me, sometimes at the bottom of subterraneous abodes, and sometimes on the ridges of mountains, wandering, abandoned, proscribed, but alone, and free, I was at least enabled to protest aloud against tyranny.

“ Those worthy missionaries of the people must have doubtless suffered still more, as some of them, from their love of liberty, have been loaded with fetters, while others, remaining in presence of the oppressor, and under his very arm, which always assumed a menacing aspect, patiently prepared, and generously expected the moment to arise, and precipitate him.

“ It is not because you are about to terminate my distresses, that I now thank you; but I thank you in common with all France, that you have saved our country. Happy are they, who, oppressed on her

account, may now resume the hope of serving her once more along with you."

The legislature, conscious of the injustice that had been done him, under the late tyranny, admitted the ex-member into its bosom; but as his fortune had been entirely ruined by the disasters of the 31st of May, the representative of the people did not deem it dishonourable to earn his bread by his industry. He accordingly opened a bookseller's shop, where he not only sold his own works, but took in subscriptions for the journals, &c. until his death, which occurred suddenly, in the summer of 1797.

Louvet was exactly five feet six inches in height, of a fallow complexion, and rather harsh features.—Being a *miops*, he was obliged to wear spectacles. But if his person was forbidding, his wit was keen, his pen at once masculine and satirical; his eloquence bold and insinuating; daring, and at the same time correct.

FERMONT,

Was a republican of some talents, and considerable energy. He was generally considered, as attached to the party of the *mountain*, and filled an important station at one very remarkable period of the revolution, having appeared in the same character, in the French, that lord president Bradshaw did in the English commonwealth: for on the 26th December 1792, he presided in the National Convention, when Louis XVI. appeared as a culprit at its bar.

It was a dreadful epoch. The patriots had levelled the courtiers with the dust, and they now began

began to contend with each other. The president must be allowed to have been placed in a delicate situation; for it is no easy task to regulate the proceedings of a numerous body, agitated by contending passions, inflamed to madness, and actuated by all the rancour of political animosity.

In civil contentions, it is no small merit to have escaped censure; this was exactly the case with Fermont, who, like many of his coadjutors, has now sunk into oblivion.

JARDON.

It has been long observed, that a man's countenance is the frontispiece to his heart, and yet that of this officer announces nothing uncommon, for it is broad, flat, and vulgar.

A more extraordinary or a bolder warrior, however, has not occurred in modern times, for if we are to believe his friends, he would charge an army of 20,000 men, at the head of two companies of grenadiers.

His *aides de camp*, his *ordonnances*, his staff officers have been frequently killed by his side. He never comes out of an engagement without having his clothes pierced with bullets; he has had several horses shot under him, and yet he himself never received, during the whole war, so much as a *scratch*. These hair-breadth escapes have rendered him dauntless, and he gives out, that neither musket nor cannon ball have any effect on his person, which can be destroyed by a *mine* alone!

Wonderful instances of his personal bravery are mentioned in the French army; and among other things it is pretended, that he routed 900 Austrians, with only seventy-five men. This is uncommon, but not altogether incredible, as a panick might have seized the enemy, or his feeble *corps* might have been mistaken, for the vanguard of a column.

After what has been said, it will perhaps be concluded, that he has been more celebrated on account of his *heart* than his *head*. It is exactly so, for Jardon is a good soldier, but an indifferent general.

GENERAL MACDONALD.

While many of the British officers left the service of France, when a war was apprehended with their native country, this and some others deemed themselves still authorised to fight for the republick.

General Macdonald is a native of the isles of Scotland, and allied to the chief of the clan of the same name. He was formerly in the service of Holland, but has been a considerable time in France, and he is still young, being not more than thirty-six years of age.

He made a campaign with the army of the north, as general of brigade, and was considered as an excellent officer, but he was discharged by St. Just, on account of his name and birth, both of which favoured of aristocracy.

Souham spoke in his favour to the pro-consul, but he replied: "*Il ne nous faut, que des républicains bien*

bien prononcés & Macdonald n'a, ni la figure, ni le nom d'un républicain."

Suspicion was carried to a dreadful length at this period, for the tribunal of Arras about the same time, is reported to have entered the following brief, but horrible sentence, on record: "N * * * * soupçonné d'être suspect, à été condamné à mort." It must be allowed, however, on the other hand, that the jacobin energy, which perhaps saved France, has been accused of a thousand crimes, in addition to those notoriously committed by it.

M. Macdonald, has had the good fortune to survive not only the denunciations against him, but also his *denouncers*, and is at this moment a general of division in the army of the Rhine.

GENERAL TURREAU.

Louis-Marie Turreau, served originally in the ranks, and passed through almost every gradation from that of a private soldier, to that of commander in chief. The *ex-nobles* at first, were alone entrusted with the *bâton*, as they only were acquainted with the higher branches of the military science. Their conduct, however, did not altogether justify expectation, and the cry soon resounded throughout France, "let us emply *sans-culottes* generals, for they have an interest in the prosperity and advancement of the republick."

The committees of government at last listened to the proposition, and a multitude of Plebeian commanders started up as if by enchantment, many of whom

have performed eminent services in favour of their country, while others, by their ignorance and presumption, have only proved instrumental to its misfortunes.

Turreau being selected as the officer most likely to put an end to the Vendean war, in the course of which, he had already distinguished himself, in a subordinate situation, repaired to Paris, on purpose to consult with the higher powers. By them, it was determined, to pierce the insurgent districts in different directions, and carrying fire, havock, and devastation, every where along with them, to unite in a central point, in order to render all resistance ineffectual. This was nearly the plan conceived by the English government, with a view to subjugate America, and it was defeated exactly in the same manner; for in both cases, one of the principal columns being discomfited by the "rebels," the whole project was disconcerted and abandoned.

The new general, indeed, experienced some temporary and partial successes, but his troops had been already debauched by plunder, and to them, every village proved a Capua! It was otherwise, according to his own account, with the enemy whom he had now to oppose.

"We ought," said he "to attribute in part, the astonishing success of the Vendeans, to their submission, and their entire confidence in their generals and priests. The latter, then confined to a secondary rank, were useful co-operators in the common cause. They assisted the chiefs most powerfully by all the

manœuvres familiar to the apostles of fanaticism. They represented them every where as the saviours of religion and royalty; as men appointed by God himself, to guide his people, and protect his worship.

“ These priests had of course the gift of prophecy. They employed also the resources of magick, to influence by means of impostures, minds heated, and already too much disposed to enthusiasm, and every thing that favoured of the wonderful, from their ignorance and superstition.

“ Miracles were soon spoken of in *La Vendée*: here the Virgin had appeared in person to consecrate an altar provisionally erected in the woods;—there the son of God himself had descended from Heaven to assist at a benediction of the colours; in another place angels had been seen, adorned with their wings and rays, announcing and promising victory to the defenders of the altar and the throne.

“ These supernatural occurrences always happened at night, and often on the eve of an expedition. They formed the chief subject of the sermons of the day, in which the preachers, the missionaries of the party, warranted to the victims of the battle, a glorious resurrection in this life*, as well as the other. To this was added the celebration of mass, and the Vendéans intoxicated with all the poisons

* “ It is well known that the *Vendéans* believed for a long time, that they would revive in three days after their death. Wives and mothers used to preserve the bodies of their children and their husbands, for this purpose!”

of fanaticism, quitted their churches only to rush upon the enemy, and faced the greatest dangers with audacity, sure either to conquer, or to receive in death, the palm of martyrdom."

"Another cause," adds he, "contributed to give the chiefs of *La Vendée* that despotick influence, which was so necessary to enable them to govern a party composed of many heterogenous elements. In this crowd of counter-revolutionists, which a revolt had rallied in Poitou, there were found men of founding titles, and individuals of high name. Those who had directed the first movements of the rebels, and who for the most part, were but simple country gentlemen, knew how to avail themselves of circumstances, so as to maintain their position at the head of the party; and they were much sought after and caressed by the high nobility, of whom they were only the foundatories—the vassals in the order of the feudal hierarchy, and who in other times, most likely would have disdained their succour and assistance. Thus we saw the Talmonts, the d'Autichamps, the Lescures, &c. closely connected with obscure beings, such as Pyron, Joly, Stofflet, Charette, &c. and the former as well as the latter, deemed themselves happy to be the lieutenants of the Beauchamps and the d'Elbées.

"We ought also to place in the number of the causes of the astonishing prosperity of the rebels, that species of madness, of ebriety, which they derived from unexpected successes. These would of course serve to augment their confidence in the generals,

nerals, whose efforts and talents were daily crowned with victory.

“Add to this, the critical situation of the Republick, whose misfortunes *their chiefs* took great care to exaggerate; the rapid and victorious march of the Austrian and Prussian armies on our frontiers; the little consistency of our military forces in the West; the hope to bring over to the royalist party the first generals employed by the Republick in *La Vendée*, or, at least, to lull them into inactivity; the frequent desertions of the troops of the line, even of considerable parts of different *corps* sent to the banks of the Loire; the publick mind corrupted in all the neighbouring departments in consequence of the correspondence and manœuvres of the agents, and the secret accomplices of the revolted citizens; about 200,000 soldiers, half of whom were armed with firelocks, and already inured to warfare by frequent battles, or rather by twenty brilliant victories, so connected by local situation, and by the disposition of their posts, that if I may be allowed to express myself, they seemed to form but one square battalion placed on a central point, the diagonals of which they traversed alternately in masses of 30,000, 40,000 and 50,000 men.”

Such was the enemy the republicans had to contend with, and such the obstacles to the conclusion of the *Vendean* war. This war had now become one of the chief misfortunes of the state, and a source of infinite calamity. The Convention, aroused at its disasters, passed a decree for putting an end to
it

it within the period of less than a month; and Barrere, confiding in the certainty of success, had already declared from the tribune, " that *La Vendée* was no more ! "

The least check in the career of victory, after this, was intolerable, and accordingly the indignation of the committees fell on poor Turreau, who perhaps wished himself once more in the ranks, when he was put under arrest, and transferred from the *marquee* of a general, to a prison in Paris.

He, however, was soon after permitted to remain in custody at his own apartments, and as the want of talents, equal to so mighty a contest, could alone be imputed to him (for he possessed both zeal and courage) he was at length set at liberty.

The high rank attained by Turreau, to the duties of which he was wholly incompetent, will of course prevent him from serving his country in any inferior situation. Had he not been so prematurely raised to the supreme military authority, he might in time have distinguished himself. It appears evident, however, that in respect to his qualities he is better calculated for the leader of a forlorn hope, than the commander of a great army.

M. D'ELBEE.

The war of *La Vendée* has been the most obstinate and bloody of any entered into by the new Republick. Commencing among the inhabitants of Lower Poitou, its origin was superstition; its abettors were the priests and nobles; it was accompanied
with

with horrors until *then* unknown; and its duration may be attributed to the ignorance, the mismanagement, and not unfrequently the injustice and severity of the generals employed to finish it.

Alarmed, instead of being animated, at the cry of liberty, the very name of which they were taught to dread as a pestilence, the peasantry of the western departments flew to arms, in behalf of the clergy, who kept their minds in thralldom, and of their *seigneurs*, in whose eyes they were not considered as men but vassals, or, in other words, slaves. Such is the empire of prejudice,—such are the triumphs of superstition!

The districts of Ploermel and Poitiers produced “the rebels of Morbihan,” who assembled in the woods, and saw their fields laid waste, and themselves exposed to famine, misery, and death, in order to hear mass!

Laval et La Gravelle, the forests of Le Pertre and La Guerche formed the cradle of the *Chouans*, so called from three brothers, originally smugglers, and who naturally adapted all the stratagems usually displayed in a contraband trade, to a predatory warfare. These were successively under the direction of the Prince de Talmont, the Count de Boulainvilliers, and M. or rather the *Chevalier* de Puisaye, formerly adjutant-general under Felix Wimpfen, and since commander in chief during the unfortunate and disgraceful expedition to Quiberon.

But the most formidable of the insurgents were produced in the salt marshes of Poitou, a flat and
open

open country bounded by the sea; intersected by canals; difficult of access, even in summer; destitute of carriage roads at any time; and in winter, absolutely impenetrable to a regular army. The inhabitants were marksmen, and with them, as with the American riflemen, every tree, every bush, every enclosure, served all the purposes of a regular fortification. To the invader the country appeared desolate; but as he advanced, the enemy seemed to rise both out of the water and the land, and attacked his troops with inconceivable fierceness. Were they routed? their retrograde movement was performed with wonderful celerity, and each individual, depending on himself alone, displayed a dexterity equally calculated to surprise and astonish his adversaries, being often like the Parthian, most dreadful in retreat.

A canal or marsh instantly put a stop to the republican soldier; but these were the means of the royalist's triumph, for, with his musket in a sling behind, he would leap from bank to bank of the one, by means of a long pole, and cross the other in his *niole*, or little punt: after this, woe to his pursuer, if he appeared within gun-shot! Such were the men led by Charette.

Of all the inhabitants of France, the *Poitevin* is the most ignorant, and Poitou has accordingly been at once the cradle and the theatre of religious wars, and civil commotions.

Le Bocage and *Le Loroux*, the former in Poitou,

and the latter in Anjou, and partly in Brittany, form the district properly called *La Vendée* *. The country is fertile; the people possess all the qualities of heroism, knowledge and humanity excepted; and they hoisted the white flag so early as March 10th, 1793, but they had been in a state of commotion from the very beginning of the revolution.

M. D'Elbée, although elected *generalissimo*, had only a single vote in the sovereign council at Châtillon, which consisted of Lescure, Stofflet, Fleuriot, and Beauchamp, and where Bernard de Marigny presided.

D'Elbée was a native of Poitou, and by birth a noble. His fortune being but slender, and his interest far from considerable at Versailles, he entered into the service of Saxony; but not meeting with that rapid preferment which could alone gratify an ambitious mind, he retired in disgust, and on his return to France got a lieutenancy in the Dauphin regiment of cavalry. On being refused a company, he once more threw up his commission, and withdrew to his castle near Beaupreau. There, instead of joining the partisans of liberty, as might have been expected, after the flight that had been thrown upon him, he in secret meditated an insurrection in favour of that court which had treated his pretensions with neglect.

D'Elbée was admirably fitted, both by nature and education, for the situation to which he was destined

* At one time, this much-dreaded name included the greater part of six insurgent departments!

by fortune. Possessed of a ready eloquence, he was calculated to be the leader of a party. A consummate soldier, he prevailed on the *Vendeans* to fight in the manner most suited to the nature of the country, and the genius of the people. He was acute, subtle, and argumentative, at the council board; in a popular assembly, his oratory was at once masculine and persuasive, and his action and tone were always in strict unison with his subject; but when in private with the fanatics, he affected to be inspired, foreboded events, and actually prognosticated the intervention of the Divinity. It was a second edition of Oliver holding "holy converse" with the "Agitators" in his army.

In this part of his mission he was faithfully seconded by the priests, who performed miracles in publick, and brought down the Virgin from Heaven, to consecrate *provisional* chapels erected in the woods; assist at the benediction of colours; and promise certain victory to the defenders of the altar and the throne!

D'Elbée organised and armed the military force in La Vendée, the inhabitants of which had begun the war with pitchforks and bludgeons; but he was soon deserted by Charette, who became jealous of his reputation, and aspired to the chief command.

During the first three or four months, he spared his prisoners; but at the end of that period, he put them to death, and, if his enemies are to be credited, prolonged their existence by means of the most cruel tortures.

Happening to receive a wound at the battle of Chollet, he took refuge in the island of Noirmoutier, where, being seized by Gen. Turreau, he was soon after shot. This disastrous fate occurred in the 42d year of his age. He was so weak, that he was obliged to be carried to the place of execution, and died with great firmness, equally lamented by his followers, and detested by his enemies.

By the former he was in some measure adored on account of his zeal, his talents, his almost uninterrupted success; and his pretended communication with the VIRGIN; for of this they had no doubt: They were taught so to believe by the holy fraud of their priests; and he himself had frequently demonstrated his divine mission in such a manner as to silence the possibility of doubt!

By the latter he was considered as a successful demon—a Moloch, in the shape of a man—who erected his bloody altars amidst the groans of his victims, exulted in their excruciating agonies, and, with a barbarous policy, lengthened out their lives, that his diabolical vengeance might be gratified with their protracted sufferings.

M. GASTON,

Or, as he is more properly termed, M. de Gaston, by which prefix he claims the honours of nobility,

Was a native of the south of France. The name is very ancient, and not unknown to the history of his country; one of his ancestors was celebrated during the reign of Henry IV. He himself was

born in 1746, at Foix, the little capital of a small county of the same name, situated in Upper Languedoc.

Like most of the provincial *noblesse*, he endeavoured to illustrate himself by the profession of arms: to fight for the *Grand Monarque* was the only employment that a man of birth thought worthy of his destiny; commerce (except in one province alone) would have rendered him almost infamous; the plough would have dishonoured him any where; if he happened to be poor, it was with his sword alone that he was to carve out an income! In this point of view he was a *mere soldier of fortune*, ready to fight in any cause, and perhaps, from a congeniality of sentiment, incident to and inseparable from an arbitrary government, the greater part of the officers of the French army were far more indignant at supporting liberty in America, than overturning it in Corsica.

Gaston was educated with some care, and being destined for the artillery, had a smattering of mathematics. He did not remain long, however, in that celebrated *corps*; for, at the age of eighteen, we find him in the regiment *de Piedmont*. Possessing a decided advantage over the officers of the line by his early pursuits, he soon attained the rank of *aide-major*, which is similar to, but more honourable, than the office of adjutant in our service. In 1780, he received the commission of major; in 1789, at the memorable period of the revolution, when authorities of all kinds began to lose much of the respect usually attached

attached to them, he called his colonel out *, and the duel, as usual, being decided with the sword, and the victory happening to declare in favour of the inferior officer, the *commandant* quitted the field with a wound, which although, in the language of the army, conclusive as to the *point of honour*, did not prove mortal.

In 1790, he became major in the regiment *de Hainault*, having exchanged, most probably, on account of the affair just alluded to.

This *corps* was ill disciplined, and Gaston, in his turn, began to act the *Martinet*. As there is no argument like that of a blow, instead of employing the circuitous road of reason and persuasion, he recurred to his *cane*, which to him was both shorter and easier. This was not so readily *stomached* by those who had heard of the *Rights of Man*; and as they happened to be in a very patriotick department, and more than *guessed* at his aristocratical principles, notwithstanding he had lately frequented the popular societies, and affected the language and manners of the democrats, they threatened him with the *lanterne*.

On this occasion he had recourse to a stratagem, that proved successful, and encouraged him to cultivate a talent with which he seemed peculiarly gifted. Having repaired to the jacobin society of Bedford, where the regiment was quartered, he lamented in

* His dispute with this officer, seems to have originated in very laudable motives : for it proceeded from his extreme severity, the colonel being what is termed a *great disciplinarian* ; in other words, a great tyrant.

the most forcible terms that many individuals of the HAINAULT, were averse to the new order of things, and had actually conspired against him, on account of his patriotism !

Having thus closed their Argus eyes, and lulled all their suspicions to security, the moment of revenge approached. An order was instantly given, to *beat to arms*, and when the soldiers were assembled on the parade, he gave the word, for *forming a circle*. Then in the hearing of an immense crowd of patriots, assembled on this interesting occasion, he delivered a speech truly revolutionary, in which, in the most exaggerated terms, he condemned the adherents of the ancient tyranny, and lamented that their manœuvres should have proved so successful, in a *corps* devoted to the cause of liberty. The soldiers, astonished at what they now heard, began to imagine they themselves had been deceived, and burning with indignation, that they should have been prevailed upon, to suspect the principles of so decided a jacobin, they instantly gave up the agitators, who were marched from the field as prisoners, and conducted under an escort, to be punished at the next garrison.

So convinced were the jacobins of his attachment to their cause, that they interceded for, and actually procured him the colonelcy of the regiment of Roussillon. The deception, however, was very gross, more especially as Gaston, who was of too intriguing a disposition to remain quiet, is said to have carried on a correspondence at the same time with de Bouille and

La Fayette. Accordingly, his conduct soon gave occasion for distrust, and he is reported to have been betrayed by his own mistress, who happened to be more in love with liberty than with him. In consequence of this discovery, he found it necessary to emigrate, and deemed himself peculiarly fortunate in escaping from the territories of France. Having repaired to Coblenz, then the head-quarters of the malecontents, he expected to be received by the princes with open arms, but he was deceived. To the honour of the *pure royalists*, who, on this occasion, exhibit more honesty than policy, they will admit no equivocal characters within the pale of their communion; and those who have even *temporised*, are always considered, as labouring under an almost indelible stain.

Gaston, therefore, was not permitted to join the army of the prince of Condé, in order to act with that little heroick band, which was denied the pleasure of spilling its blood in France, and has been at length relegated to the icy regions of the north, regardless of its claims, to participate in the unfortunate contest.

He was allowed, however, to display his talents on another theatre, the blood-stained fields of *La Vendée*, and he accordingly re-entered France, and joined the insurgents. It was there, along with the d'Autichamps, the d'Elbées, and the Stofflets, that he exposed his life to daily hazard; in order to obtain renown, and wipe away ignominy. In point of bravery, he had many rivals; but he had few equals, in respect

spect to the knowledge of tactics," the details of service, and the minutiae of discipline. He was acquainted with all the refinements of modern warfare, and no one better understood the advantages of organization. At the first glance, he saw the folly of contending against regular troops, by means of scythes and pitch-forks ! Fire arms were at length procured; partly from the vanquished battalions, and partly from England; cannon too, in immense quantities, were also seized, but they were cumbrous in a wooded country, and where there was not wood, there generally were morasses, so that at last they fell into disuse : the musket decided every thing. As to the bayonet, that simple, but formidable instrument of human vengeance, it also, from local motives, was but seldom brought into action. Unaccustomed to its effects, the *Vendean* preferred to fire from behind the shelter of a tree, or from amidst the rushes of a marsh.

Among such men, the acquirements of a Gaston were highly prized, and looked upon as somewhat supernatural ; more especially as he was generally successful. He consequently became one of their chiefs, and the republick holding the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other, was at length forced to treat with him, and the other leaders ; he in particular received the promise of a pension.

Soon after Hoche, by a rare union of humanity and intrepidity, had put an end to the troubles of *La Vendée*, a real or pretended conspiracy, on the part
of

of the generals in the late insurrection, laid all their future hopes in the dust.

Some were imprisoned; some executed. The fate of Gaston, is uncertain: had he been admitted to the *crown of martyrdom*, his death, would doubtless have been celebrated with the same solemnities as that of Stofflet *, for he had made his peace with the French princes, and all his political wanderings during the early part of the revolution, were obliterated even in the minds of the *staunchest royalists*, by his recent actions. It is most probable, that he either remains concealed in the unexplored fastnesses of Poitou (the scene of his former triumphs!) or that he is wandering at this moment, a fugitive, in

* A solemn service was celebrated for the soul of general Stofflet. The following is a copy of a letter which the prince of Condé received from Louis XVIII. on this subject; it is dated Verona, March 17, 1795:

“ I this instant learn, my dear cousin, the melancholy news of the death of general Stofflet, a victim to his courage, and love of his God, his country, and his king.

“ My regret is augmented by the impossibility of personally rendering the honours which are due to him, from all truly French soldiers. Supply my place my dear cousin; cause a solemn service to be celebrated for this brave man, and assist yourself at the head of those valiant gentlemen whom I have confided you with the command of.

“ A general expression of sorrow and esteem will resound from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Loire, where the brave royalists of the interior, deplore at this instant the loss of one of their chiefs: it will teach the universe that good Frenchmen, wherever they are, have but one heart and one soul.

“ Adieu, my dear cousin, you know my sentiments for you.”

(Signed)

“ LOUIS.”

some

some country of Europe, that still dares to shelter the enemies of the "*great nation*."

M. de Gaston is now about fifty-two years old. In respect to appearance, his features are harsh; he is short in stature, but stout, muscular, and admirably calculated for sustaining fatigue, and enduring the severities of military service.

His courage is exemplary, and his knowledge of the art of war, such as falls to the lot of few inferior officers. As a partisan, therefore, he must be allowed to have possessed superiour merit.

He is said to be gifted in a peculiar manner, with the art of persuasion, and if we are to believe those who know him intimately, he has both tears and words at command, on every occasion, when either can prove effectual.

BEYSSER.

When Gorsas, Louvet, Pethion, Guadet, and several other proscribed members, had repaired to Caen, in order to counteract the mountain, by means of a DEPARTMENTAL INSURRECTION, they found themselves at a great loss for commanders. They were promised the *armed force* of eight departments, but they wanted skilful officers to command them.

At Lisieux, near Caen, they had an interview with Beysser, who offered his services to them. He had carried arms in the war of *La Vendée*, and distinguished himself against the royalists, in the affair of Nantes, on the 20th of May. He was a bad general, but a most excellent partisan; a kind of colonel of Hussars,
admirably,

admirably calculated for a *coup de main*, and the proper man to lead a battalion, with drums beating and colours flying, to the square of the Carrouzel.

Wimpfen, a noted royalist, by a strange mistake, was appointed commander in chief. He refused to employ Beysser; Beysser, by way of revenge, endeavoured to debauch the whole of the cavalry, and thinking that this exploit had enabled him to make his peace with the *mountain*, he returned to Paris. Being found however, to be one of those men, whom *even treachery could not trust*, he was soon after imprisoned, and guillotined!

LAZARE, *ci-devant* ST. MEARD, and his fellow-prisoners in the *Abbaye*.

Fortune appears sometimes to take delight in sporting with the destiny of certain individuals; and in the fate of such, we always become peculiarly interested. The hair-breadth escapes in battle; the romantick but perilous events attendant on shipwreck; the critical preservation from the devouring element of fire; all naturally astonish and delight us: for, in spite of the gloomy reveries of some pretended philosophers, man is naturally good!

But if we are actuated by surprize, if we are fascinated with pleasure, at the deliverance of our fellow men, from difficulties that occur daily, how much more shall we be astonished and rejoiced at the escape of an individual, from a massacre of St. Bartholomew, undertaken under the auspices of a sanguinary

guinary king, or a still more recent one, during the existence of a bloody and ferocious anarchy?

Journiac Saint Meard, who, since the establishment of the republick, has exchanged this name for that of "citizen Lazare," appertained to the order of nobles, and resided occasionally at the castle of St. Meard. While the peasants were burning the *chateaus* of the neighbouring lords, his tenants placed a may-pole in his court-yard, and danced around it: this circumstance does him infinite honour. The decree for annihilating feudal privileges, bereaved him of half his fortune, and made him at first discontented with the new order of things, but he was warmly attached to the cause of liberty, and hated on this account by his own class. Like the greater part of that body, he made the profession of arms his study, and attained the rank of captain-commandant *des chasseurs du régiment d'infanterie du roi*. He was present at the *affair of Nancy*, and experienced a series of dangers during that eventful period, which more than once, had nearly proved fatal to him. The regiments *du Roi*, *Mestre de Camp*, *Châteauvieux*, and several battalions of national guards, nominated him their general, and forced him against his inclination, to conduct them to Lunéville, in order to take general Malseigne from the Carabeneers. This was a trying occasion, and he had a narrow escape, but it was nothing to what he was destined to experience a few months afterwards.

Being,

Being, like most of the military chiefs of that day, an *avowed royalist*, the capture, imprisonment, and decapitation of the king, could not be indifferent to him. He did not, however, attempt to escape, and become an emigrant: on the contrary, he appears to have employed his talents in literary compositions, in favour of his party, and was a constant correspondent to what were then termed the *counter-revolutionary gazettes*.

At length the reign of terrour approached, and a few detestable characters having acquired a preponderance in the capital, conceived the horrid plan of deluging it with blood. The municipality, at that time consisting principally of foreigners, took the lead in this scene of horrors, and caused a general sweep to be made, of all whom they presumed to consider as *suspected persons*. St. Meard, among a crowd of other unfortunates, was arrested on the 22d of August, carried to the * *Mairie*, at nine o'clock in the morning, and detained there until eleven at night. His subsequent adventures, will come with a better grace from himself than any other person, and they shall be related as nearly as possible, word for word. In addition to the interest we are naturally inclined to take, in the sufferings of an individual, here will be found a variety of particulars relative to this dark and shocking conspiracy, and it may perhaps be permitted to add, that it con-

* The residence of the mayor.

tains the most minute account hitherto published of this disgraceful period in the French history.

“J’ENTENDS ENCORE LEURS CRIS ; LEURS LAMENTABLES CRIS.” *Méropé. Volt.*

“After I had been arrested, two persons, without doubt members of the committee, made me enter an apartment ; one of them, overcome with fatigue fell asleep, the other asked me, if I was M. Jourgniac Saint Meard ? I replied in the affirmative, on which he desired me to sit down, adding, “we are all equal—be seated.” He then told me, that I was suspected of being the editor of *Le Journal de la Cour et de la Ville*, and that Gautier, whose name had been affixed to it, was a mere man of straw. I offered to give him my word of honour, that he was mistaken, but he replied, that it was ridiculous to talk now about honour*. He then told me, I had been accused of going to the frontiers ; I replied that I had not been out of Paris, for twenty-three months.

“Are you acquainted with M. Durosoi, editor of the *Gazette de Paris* ?” —

“Only by reputation—I never saw him in my life.”

“This astonishes me, for a letter from you, has been found among his papers—it will not, however, prove of any disservice to you—it contains only a copy of the speech you made to the *chasseurs* of your

* “Eh ! Monsieur, il n’est plus question de parole d’honneur.—”

company during the insurrection of Nancy.—But are you not a *chevalier de St. Louis* ?”—“ Yes, sir—”

“ Why do not you wear the cross then ?”

“ Here it is, I have worn it constantly for the last six years.”

“ This is sufficient for to-day—I shall go and tell the committee that you are here.”

“ Be kind enough to inform the members at the same time, that if justice be done me, I shall be set at liberty, for I am neither editor, nor recruiting officer for the princes, nor conspirator, nor denunciator.”

A few minutes afterwards, three soldiers made their appearance, and gave me a signal, in consequence of which, I followed them. When we had reached the court, they invited me to get into a hackney coach along with them ; and this being complied with, they ordered the driver to carry us to the *Hôtel du Faubourg Saint Germain*.

No sooner had we arrived at this *hôtel*, which proved to be the *Abbaye* *, than they presented me along with a little *billet* to the jailor, who after having hoped as usual, *that my detention would not prove long*, caused me to be conducted to a large hall, which served as a *chapel* to the prisoners under the *old government* ; I counted nineteen unfortunates,

* A famous prison, formerly the palace of the archbishop of Paris.

extended on coarse beds, made out of hemp ; I was accommodated with that of

M. DANGREMONT,

Whose head had been cut off only two days before ! That very afternoon, when we were about to sit down to dinner,

M. CHANTEREINE,

Colonel of the constitutional troops of the king's household, stabbed himself three times successively with a knife, after exclaiming* : " we are all destined to be massacred My God, I fly to you !" He died two minutes after.

On the 23d I drew up a memorial, in which I unmasked the turpitude of those who had denounced me ; of this, I transmitted copies to the minister of justice, to my section, to the committee of inspection, and to all whom I thought likely to feel for the injustice under which I laboured.

At five o'clock in the afternoon,

M. DUROSOI,

Editor of the *Gazette de Paris*, became one of the companions of our misfortunes. No sooner did he hear my name mentioned, than he exclaimed : " Ah ! Sir, permit a man whose last hour is approaching, to open his heart to you." I then embraced him, after which he read a letter which he

* " Nous sommes tous destinés à être massacrés Mon Dieu, je vais à vous !"

had just received, and which was to the following purport :

“ My friend, prepare for death ; you are condemned, and to-morrow - - - - - I should die with grief, were it not that you know what I have promised you. Adieu.”

While this note was reading, I beheld the tears flowing down his cheeks ; he then kissed the paper several times, and I could hear him say, in a low tone of voice : “ Alas ! she will suffer much more than myself !” After this, he lay down on my bed, and we both fell asleep. At break of day, he arose, and drew up a memorial, in his justification ; it was written with energy, but did not produce any favourable consequence, for his head was cut off the very next day, by the *guillotine*.

On the 25th the commissaries of the jail at length permitted us to procure a newspaper called *le Journal du Soir*, and a new prisoner, among several others, brought us one, in which I read a very violent paragraph against myself, over-rating my fortune, assigning me an estate appertaining to M. de Segur, and accusing me as editor of an *anti-constitutional gazette* *.

* “ MM. ST. MEARD ET BEAUMARCHAIS, ont été arrêtés : le premier était auteur du journal scandaleux qui paraissait sous le titre de *Journal & de la Cour et de la Ville*. Il a été capitaine au régiment de roi ; & ce qu'il y a de remarquable, c'est qu'il est propriétaire de la terre que le fameux MONTAGNE possédait près de Bordeaux. M. SAINT MEARD, jouit de plus de 40,000 liv. de rentes.”

In the sacristy of the chapel, which served us as a prison, was confined a captain of the Swiss guards called,

REDING,

Whose arm had been broken by a musket shot, on the 10th of August; besides this, he had received four sabre wounds on the head. Some citizens saved, and carried him to a ready furnished apartment, whence he was removed to the *Abbaye*, where his arm was set a second time.

On the 26th at midnight, a municipal officer inscribed our names in a register, and gave us hopes that were not realised in the sequel. On the 28th and 29th more carriages arrived with prisoners; we could see them enter from a turret, the windows of which overlooked the street, *Se. Marguerite*. We afterwards paid dearly for this satisfaction.

A person about eighty years of age, was conducted into our apartment on the 30th, and slept along with us. The day after, we learned, that it was

THE SIEUR CAZOTTE,

Author of the poems *d'Olivier*, *Diable amoureux*, &c. The gaiety of the old man, which bordered on folly, diverted us a little, from thinking on our misfortunes. He affected to speak in the *Oriental* manner, and endeavoured seriously to persuade us, from the history of CAIN and ABEL, that we were infinitely more happy than those who enjoyed liberty. He appeared very angry, that we did not believe him;

him ; he wished absolutely to make us think, that our situation was nothing more than an *emanation of the apocalypse*, &c. &c. I touched him to the quick, by saying that in our present position, it would be far better for us to treat in *predestination*, than in any of his reveries. Two *gendarmes*, who came to conduct him before the *criminal tribunal*, terminated our discussion.

In the mean time, I did not lose a single instant in procuring the attestations necessary to verify the assertions contained in my memorial. I was aided on this occasion by a friend—and such a friend as is seldom to be met with, who, while my companions in misfortune were abandoned by theirs, was busied day and night in rendering me service.

He forgot, that during a moment of fermentation and distrust, he might experience the same risks as myself, and that he would become suspected, by interesting himself in behalf of a suspected prisoner. Nothing abated his zeal, and he has admirably proved to me the truth of the old proverb, “that adversity is the touchstone of friendship.” To his fidelity and attachment I am principally indebted for my life ; and I owe it to the publick, to myself, and to truth, that I should name this brave man : it is

M. TEYSSIER,

Merchant, *Rue Croix des Petits-Champs*.

Sept. 1st. On this day three of our companions were liberated: they were far less astonished at their deliverance, than they had been at their imprisonment ;

ment; for they were the most zealous patriots of their respective sections. Several others were also dismissed from the adjoining apartment: among these was

M. DE JAUCOURT,

A member of the legislative assembly, who had given in his resignation as a deputy, some time before.—My own sufferings now commenced.

On Sunday Sept. 2d, our jailor served up our dinner sooner than usual; his distracted air and haggard eyes made us presage something sinister. At two o'clock, he re-entered the apartment, but was deaf to all the questions put to him, and, contrary to his customary proceeding, he took away all our knives, and made the nurse who waited on Reding retire.—Half an hour after, the frightful noise made by the people on the outside of the prison was alarmingly augmented by the drums, which *beat the generale**, by three signal cannon that were fired, and by the *tocsin* †, that was rung every where. During this period of terrour, we beheld the carriages, escorted by an innumerable croud of furious men and women, who cried out, “A la Force! A la Force! ‡”—They were conducted to the cloysters of the *Abbaye*, which had been converted into prisons for the priests. A little after, we heard that they had massacred all the bishops, and other ecclesiastics, who had been *penned up* in that place.

* The call to arms.

† Alarm bell.

‡ We did not then know, but we afterwards learned, that this was the signal for sending the victims to execution.

About four o'clock, the piercing cries of a person hacked to pieces, with blows from a sabre, brought us to the window of the turret, and we perceived the body of a man opposite the gate of our prison, extended on the pavement. A short time afterwards, another was massacred; and many more in succession. It is totally impossible to express the horror of that profound and melancholy silence which reigned during these terrible executions. It was only interrupted by the cries of those who were sacrificed, and by the strokes of the sabre they received on the head. The moment one fell, a murmur was heard, which was succeeded by the shout of *Vive la Nation!*—a thousand times more frightful to us than the horror of silence. During the interval between the massacres, we heard them saying, under our windows,—“Not one must escape—they must be all killed, and especially those in the chapel, where there are none but conspirators.” It was of us they were talking! and it is almost unnecessary to affirm, that we often wished to experience the *good fortune* of those who were shut up in the darkest and most loathsome cells of the *Abbaye*.

At five o'clock, several voices uttered the name of

M. CAZOTTE,

and in a moment afterwards we heard a number of persons passing along the grand stair-case, the rattling of arms, and the cries of men and women.—It was this old man, followed by his daughter, whom they were conducting to death. The moment he had passed the wicket, that courageous young woman preci-

precipitated herself on the neck of her father, and the people, affected at the sight of so much filial tenderness, demanded and obtained his pardon.

About seven o'clock, we beheld two men enter, whose bloody hands were armed with sabres; they were conducted by a turnkey, with a lighted torch, who pointed out the bed of the unfortunate Reding. *At that dreadful moment I was pressing his hand in mine, and striving to comfort him.* On their approach, he exclaimed, "I have suffered enough; I do not fear death; it will be charitable to let me perish here!" These words rendered one of the strangers immoveable, but the other hoisted him on his shoulders, and carried him into the street, where he was killed My eyes are so full of tears, that I do not see what I write We now surveyed one another, without uttering a single word; we then clasped each other's hands, and embraced—we fixed our eyes on the pavement of our prison, which the moon enlightened through the intervals of the shade formed by the triple bars that guarded our windows but, in a short time, the cries of new victims recalled our original agitation, and reminded us of the last words pronounced by M. Chantereine, while plunging the knife into his heart,—“We are all destined to be massacred!”

At midnight, ten men armed with sabres, and preceded by two turnkeys bearing torches, entered our prison, and commanded each of us to stand at the foot of his own bed. After we had been counted over, they observed, that we must answer for one another,

another, and swore, that if a single person escaped, we should be all massacred, *without being heard by M. le President.*

These last words afforded us a gleam of hope; for we did not yet know that we should be allowed to utter a word before we were butchered.

Monday the 3d, two o'clock in the morning. One of the doors of the prison was now attempted to be broken open; we at first imagined that it was the wicket which they were forcing, in order to massacre us all; but we were a little comforted, when we heard them observing, on the stair-case, that it was the gate of a dungeon, where some prisoners had barricaded themselves. A little after, we learned that they had killed all whom they found there.

At ten o'clock,

THE ABBE L'ENFANT,

Confessor to the King, and

THE ABBE DE CHAPT-RASTIGNAC,

appeared in the pulpit of the chapel which served us as a prison, and into which they entered by a door communicating with the stair-case. They announced that our last hour approached, and invited us to collect around them, in order to receive their benediction. An electric movement, which it is impossible to define, precipitated us all on our knees, and we went through the ceremony, with our hands clasped together. This, although a consolatory moment, was one of the most terrible we had yet experienced. —On the eve of appearing at the throne of the SUPREME BEING, and kneeling before two of his ministers,

nisters, we presented an indefinable spectacle. The age of these two men, their position above us, death hovering over our heads, and surrounding us on all sides—all these accompaniments gave an august and lugubrious air to the ceremony; it approximated us to the Divinity; it reinstalled courage into our minds; all reasoning was suspended, and the most cold and incredulous among us received as great an impression as him who was most ardent, and possessed the greatest share of sensibility.—Half an hour afterwards, these two priests were massacred, and *we heard their cries.*

Where is the man who can read the following particulars, with dry eyes, or even without experiencing the *crispations* and shudderings of dissolution?

Our most important avocation was *now* to know in what position we could receive death with the least pain, when we were dragged to the place of massacre! We accordingly sent some of our companions, from time to time, in order to inform us of the postures of the victims, that we might calculate according to their report respecting the best for us to assume. They brought us back information, that those who extended their hands suffered much longer than others, because the strokes of the sabre were deadened before they reached the head; that there were some, whose hands and arms fell before their bodies, and that accordingly those who placed them behind their backs must endure much less than others. Alas! it was relative to such horrible details that we deliberated. We perceived the advantages,

vantages resulting from this last position, and we advised each other to adopt it, when our turn to be massacred should arrive.

Towards noon, being overwhelmed by somewhat of a supernatural agitation, and absorbed in reflections, the horror of which is inexpressible, I threw myself on my bed, and fell into a profound sleep.

Every thing inclines me to believe that I am indebted for my existence to this very sleep.—*It seemed to me, that I appeared before the redoubtable tribunal that was to try me; I was listened to with attention, notwithstanding the frightful noise of the tocsin, and the cries which every where prevailed around; but my defence was no sooner heard, than I was set free!* This dream made such a happy impression on my mind, that it totally dissipated my uneasiness, and I awoke with a *presentiment* that it would be realised.—I afterwards recounted the particulars to my companions in misfortune, who were astonished at the assurance I preserved from that moment until the period I made my appearance before my terrible judges.

At two o'clock, a proclamation was read, which the people appeared to hear with disfavour; a moment afterwards, some persons, out of curiosity, or perhaps with an intention of pointing out the means of saving ourselves, placed a ladder against the window of our apartment; but they were prevented from proceeding, by a cry of "Down! down! they intend to carry them arms!"

All the torments of a devouring thirst were now added to the anguish we momentarily experienced — At length, however, our turnkey Bertrand, who, as well as citizen Lavaquerie the jailor, had behaved exceedingly well during the whole of our confinement, made his appearance, and we obtained a flaggon of water from him. We drank it with so much the more avidity, as we had not been able to obtain a single drop during the last twenty-six hours. We mentioned this instance of negligence to a *federate*, who came with other persons to inspect the prison, and who was so enraged at the circumstance, that after demanding the name of the turnkey, he assured us, that he was going to *exterminate him*. *He would have done so, for he promised it*, and it was not until after repeated supplications that we could obtain his pardon.

At eight o'clock the agitation of the people began to diminish, and we heard several voices exclaim, *Pardon! Pardon! for those that remain!* These words were applauded, but unfortunately the applause was feeble. Notwithstanding this, a gleam of hope took possession of us; and some actually thought their deliverance so near at hand, that they already had their little bundles of clothes under their arms, in order to depart; but, a short time afterwards, the cries of death plunged us once more into fresh anguish.

I had formed a particular friendship with the
SIEUR MASSAUBRE',
who had been arrested for no other reason than be-
cause

cause he was *aide-de-camp* to M. de Brissac. He had formerly exhibited great proofs of courage, but the dread of assassination now got the better of his reason. He had indeed lost his senses to such a degree, that being unable to conceal himself in the chapel, he ascended the chimney of the *sacristy*, where, finding himself stopped by the iron grating, he actually attempted to burst his way through with his head !

THE SIEUR EMARD,

who on the preceding evening had requested me to draw up his will, informed me of the motives of his arrest, and I found them so unjust, that in order to give him a proof of the certainty I experienced in my own mind relative to his deliverance, I presented him with a silver medal, beseeching him at the same time to keep and show it to me, ten years afterwards should he chance to read this article, he will remember his promise. If we have not since met, it is no fault of mine, for I am ignorant of his place of abode, but he well knows where I live.

At eleven o'clock, ten persons armed with sabres and pistols ordered us to draw up in a line, and then conducted us to the second wicket, near where the tribunal, by whom we were to be tried, held its sittings. I approached, with some precaution, one of the sentinels who guarded us, and began, by little and little, to enter into conversation with him. He informed me, in a dialect that made me guess him either to be a *Provençal* or *Languedocian*, that he

had served eight years in the regiment *de Lyonnais*. On this I spoke *Patois*, which seemed to give him pleasure; and the interest which I now had to gain his esteem furnished me with a *Gascon* eloquence, so persuasive in its operation, that I appeared to have acquired his favour. In short, I succeeded so far, as to procure admission from him into the redoubtable apartment, where the prisoners were examined. I witnessed the process of two, one of whom was purveyor of provisions to the King, and who, being accused of participating in the plot of the 10th of August, was condemned and executed. The other, who wept, and uttered only a few words intermingled with sighs, was already undressed, and on the eve of being sent to *La Force*, when he was recognised by a tradesman of Paris, who attested that he had been mistaken for another.

What I had seen enabled me to make up my mind as to the nature of my defence; I therefore retired, and requested my *Provençal* to procure me a glass of wine, which he soon after brought into the chapel, whither we were all re-conducted.

“Here!” cried he on his entrance, “is a whole bottle—drink—to your health—I can only remain a moment with you; but remember what I say: If you are a priest, or a conspirator of the castle of *M. Veto**, tremble; but if you be not a traitor, and do not appear to be afraid, I will answer for your life.”——

* Louis XVI.

“ Ah ! my friend, I am sure enough that I shall not be accused of this ; but I am considered as being a little of an *aristocrate*.”

“ That is nothing ; the judges know very well that there are honest people of all parties. The president is a good man, and not a fool.”

“ Be so kind as to desire the judges to hear me ; I do not ask for more.”

“ You shall be heard—I must return to my post—embrace me—I wish you well. Adieu !”

One must have been in the *Abbaye* on the 3d of September, 1792, in order to feel the influence which this conversation had on my mind, and how much it re-animated me.

Towards midnight the unnatural noise, which had not been discontinued during thirty-six hours, began now to slacken. We imagined that the judges and the executive power * were overcome with fatigue, and that when they had taken some repose, we should be carried before them. We were accordingly employed in making our beds, when another proclamation was made, which was generally hissed. Soon after this, a man demanded to speak to the people, and we heard him very distinctly say,—“ The priests and conspirators, who remain, have *greased the palms of the judges*, and that is the reason why they do not try any more !”

Scarcely had he uttered these words, when it appeared as if he had been knocked down.

* The KILLERS were so called.

The noise augmented every instant, and the fermentation was at its height, when they came in search of

M. DEFONTAINE,

formerly *garde du corps*, whose shrieks we heard soon after. In a few minutes more, they snatched from our arms two of our new companions, which made me imagine that my own fate was approaching.

At length, on *Tuesday*, at one o'clock of the morning, having experienced an agony of thirty-seven hours, to which even death itself cannot be compared; after having a thousand and a thousand times emptied the *chalice of despair*, the door of the prison opens—I am asked for, and make my appearance. Three men seize and drag me into the frightful court. By the light of two torches, I perceive this terrible tribunal, that was to confer life or death. The PRESIDENT, in a grey coat, with a sabre by his side, was leaning against a table, on which were paper, ink, pipes, and a few bottles. This table was surrounded by ten persons, who were either sitting or standing; two of them were in jackets and aprons; some others were asleep, with their bodies extended along the benches.—Two men, whose shirts were stained with blood, guarded the door of the apartment; an old turnkey had his hand on the bolt. Immediately opposite to the president were three men, who had hold of a prisoner, of about sixty years of age.

I was placed in a corner; those who guarded me, leaned their sabres across my breast; and intimated,
that

that if I made the least motion to escape, they would poniard me. I was now looking around for my *Provençal*, when I beheld two national guards present to the president a written demand of the section of *Croix-Rouge*, in favour of the person then before him. He said in reply, "that such requests were useless in respect to traitors." On this the prisoner exclaimed,—“This is truly frightful; your judgment is an assassination!” The president rejoined—“My hands are clean; conduct M. Maillé*” No sooner were these words pronounced, than he was thrust into the street, and I beheld him killed, through the bars of the grate.

The president having apparently registered the name of the unfortunate, then called out, “Another!” On this I was immediately dragged towards the upper end of this expeditious and bloody tribunal, in presence of which the best protection was to have none, and where all the resources of human wit were useless, if not founded on truth. Two of my guards held my hands; the third seized the collar of my coat.

The president. “Your name and profession?”

One of the judges. “The smallest untruth will ruin you.”

“I am called Jourgniac St. Meard; I have served during twenty-five years as an officer, and I appear before your tribunal with the assurance of a man

* “I thought I could perceive that the president pronounced this sentence contrary to his own inclinations. Several killers had now entered, and occasioned much fermentation.”

who has nothing to reproach himself with, and who consequently stands not in need of a lie."

The president having examined the scroll of prisoners, as well as the accusations, handed them to the other judges. After which he said, "Do you know the motives of your arrest?"

"Yes, *Monsieur le Président*; and when I consider the falsity of the denunciations against me, I am sure that the *committee of vigilance of the commune* would never have caused me to have been imprisoned, had it not been for those precautions which *the safety of the people* render necessary. I am accused of being Editor of the *Anti-feuillant* journal, entitled *De la Cour et de la Ville*. The *Truth is, that this is a falsehood*. It is one of the name of GAUTIER, who is the editor, and whose person has so little resemblance to mine, that the mistake can be attributed to nothing but malice; and if I could but put my hand in my pocket——[I here made an useless motion, as if to pull out my pocket-book; a judge perceiving it, desired I might be allowed that liberty. On this, I placed on the table the attestations of several merchants, proprietors of houses where he had lived, &c. all of which demonstrated that he was conductor and sole proprietor of this journal.]

One of the judges. "But there is no smoke without fire; it is necessary to discover why you should be accused of this."

"You know, gentlemen, that this journal was a kind of trunk, in which all the *calembours*, epigrams, &c. either originating in Paris or the eighty-three depart-

departments, were deposited. I might easily assert here, that I never wrote a single line for it, as no manuscript of mine can be produced against me; but my usual frankness obliges me, however, to acknowledge that I was induced by the gaiety of my character to send several *pleasantries* to the *Sieur Gautier*. Behold, then, the result of this *grand denunciation* against me, which is as absurd, as what follows is monstrous. I have been accused of repairing to the frontiers, of having enlisted recruits, and of having conducted them to join the emigrants. —[*Here a general murmur arose, which did not disconcert me in the least; on the contrary I raised my voice, and continued as follows:*]

“Gentlemen! Gentlemen! it is my turn to speak; I beseech *M. le Président* to support my claim; never was it so necessary I should be heard as on the present occasion.”

[All the judges, on this, fell a laughing, and cried out,—“He is in the right. Silence!”]

“The person who denounced me is a monster; and I am about to demonstrate this truth, to judges whom the people would not have chosen, had they not deemed them capable of discerning the innocent from the guilty.—Here are certificates which prove that I have not left Paris during the last *twenty-three months*. Here also are three declarations from the owners of the houses where I have lived during that period, which attest the same.”—(*They were now busily occupied in examining the papers, when we were interrupted by the arrival of a prisoner, who*
was

was put into my place, immediately in front of the president. Those who brought him observed, that it was another priest, whom they had taken from his lurking-hole in the chapel. After a very short interrogatory, he was ordered to La Force. On this he threw his breviary on the table, and was dragged out of the wicket, and massacred.)

I then once more made my appearance before the tribunal.

One of the judges. "I will not say that these certificates are false; but who is to prove that they are true?"

"Let me be conducted to a dungeon, until commissioners shall have verified their validity. If they be false, I merit death."

Another of the judges, who during my interrogatory seemed to interest himself in my favour, whose features are deeply engraven on my heart, whom I would embrace, could I but see him, in order to testify my gratitude, here observed, in rather a low tone of voice, "That a guilty person never spoke with so much assurance."

A third judge. "To what section do you belong, and with whom did you lodge?"

"That of the *Halle au blé*, at M. Teyssier's, *Rue Croix des Petits-Champs*."

A national guard, not of the number of the judges. "I know him well; we have had dealings together frequently, and I can tell instantly if this certificate be of his hand-writing,

[After looking at it, he continues]

"Gen-

“Gentlemen, I certify that this is the signature of citizen Teyssier.”

I could have leaped on the neck of this tutelary angel; but I contented myself with saying,—“Now that the testimony of this brave man has demonstrated the falsehood of an accusation that might have occasioned my death, what idea can you entertain of him who denounced me?”

The judge who seemed to interest himself in my behalf. “He must be a rogue, and were he here, he should be instantly punished.”

Another of the judges. “It is evident that you are not the *Doer* of this journal; but you do not say a word as to the *aristocratical propositions* maintained by you among the booksellers in the *Palais-Royal*?”

“Why should I omit any thing? I have not hesitated to tell what I have written; shall I be afraid then to acknowledge what I have said, and even what I have thought? I always advised obedience to the laws, and exhibited an example of it. I acknowledge also, that I took advantage of the permission held out by the *constitution*, to remark that I did not deem it perfect, because I thought I perceived that it placed us all in a false position. If it was a crime to have said so then, the constitution itself was nothing better than a snare; and the permission it gave me, to mention its faults, was a mere trap.—I have also said, that nearly all the Nobles of the constituent assembly, *who appeared to be such zealous*

zealous patriots, laboured infinitely more to satisfy their interest and ambition, than for the good of their country; and when all Paris was *fascinated* with their patriotism, I observed—*They Deceive You.*—And now let me ask you, Gentlemen, *is not my opinion of them justified by the event?* I have often blamed, likewise, the cowardly and clumsy manoeuvres of certain personages, who were only *for the constitution, nothing but the constitution, the whole constitution.*

“ I had long anticipated a great catastrophe, the necessary result of that constitution, *revised* by ego-tists, who (like those of whom I have already made mention) only laboured for themselves, and the intriguers who defended them. *Diffimulation, cupidity, and poltroonery,* were the attributes of these quacks. *Fanaticism, intrepidity, and frankness,* formed the character of their enemies.—There was little occasion for a pair of spectacles to perceive that they would carry their point.”

[*The attention with which I was listened to, and which, to tell the truth, was more than I expected, encouraged me, and I was about to urge a thousand reasons which induced me to prefer a republican to the constitutional government, when the turnkey entered with an affrighted look, on purpose to intimate that a prisoner was endeavouring to escape through a chimney. The president ordered some pistols to be fired at him, and said, that if he got off, the jailor should answer with his head. It was the unfortunate*

MASSAUBRE', who fell down, nearly stifled, on some straw being lighted below. He was then carried out and executed.]

" No one, Gentlemen, was more anxious than myself for the reform of abuses.—Look at the pamphlets composed by me, before, and during the sitting of the States-General. I always thought that we went too far for a *limited constitution*, and not far enough for a *republick*. I am neither *Jacobin*, nor *Feuillant*. I do not love the principles of the former, although far more consistent and frank than those of the latter, whom I shall ever detest, until they have proved that they are not the cause of all the evils which we have experienced. At length we have got rid of them !"

A judge, with an air of impatience. "You always tell us, that you are neither this, nor that: what are you then?"

"I was in truth a royalist."

[*Here a general murmur ensued, which was miraculously appeased by the judge who appeared to interest himself in my behalf, and who said word for word as follows:*]

"It is not to give judgment on opinions, but on the result of them, that we sit here*."

Scarcely had these words been pronounced, when I exclaimed,—“I have in truth been a *Royalist*, but I was never paid for being so. I was a *Royalist*, because I conceived a monarchical government most

* “If the united geniuses of Rousseau and Voltaire had pleaded my cause, could they have spoken more to the purpose?”

befitting to my native country; because I loved the king truly, and on his own account. *I preserved this sentiment in my heart until the 10th of August.*

[*The murmur that now arose had a more flattering sound than the former, and in order to keep up the good opinion that seemed to have been conceived of me, I added*]

“ I have never heard of any plots, but what I learned from the publick indignation. Whenever I had an opportunity to assist any man, I never asked what were his principles the patriotick journals will confirm all that I have said. I have always been beloved by the peasants on my lordship, and, instead of burning, they were all eager to protect my castle. I can add, that not a single soldier of the regiment *du Roi**, in which I served twenty-five years, had ever any cause to complain of me.”

One of the judges. “ I shall soon see whether you belonged to that regiment. Did you know M. Moreau?”

“ Yes, Sir, I knew two of that name: one very tall, very fat, and very reasonable; the other very little, very thin, and (pointing to my head) very foolish.”

The same judge. “ I perceive you have known him.”

[*One of the doors was now opened, and M. Margue, ci-devant major, formerly my brother officer in the regiment du Roi, and my companion in the*

* “ Here one of the judges trod on my toes, but I proceeded nevertheless.”

chamber of the Abbaye, entered, escorted by three men, in order to be tried as soon as I was disposed of.]

“After the unfortunate affair of *Nancy*, I repaired to Paris, where I have remained ever since. I was arrested in my own apartment, twelve days since, and was so little afraid of being made a prisoner, that I walked out daily as usual. No seals were affixed to my papers, &c. because nothing suspicious was found about me. I was never inscribed in the civil list.—I never signed any petition.—I never carried on any reprehensible correspondence. During my abode in the capital I have followed the natural gaiety of my character, which, in conformity with my principles, would never permit me *seriously* to engage in publick affairs. The sincerity of these confessions must convince you that I am not a dangerous man—and I now hope you will be so good as to grant me that liberty to which I am no less attached by necessity than by principle.”

The President, after taking off his hat, said,—“I do not perceive any thing tending to render *Monsieur* suspected; I am for granting him his liberty.—Is this your opinion?”

All the judges. “Yes! yes! It is but what is just.”

Scarcely were these divine words uttered, when every one in the tribunal embraced me. I heard several persons above me *applaud* the sentence, and cry out *Bravo!* On lifting my eyes, I perceived several heads crowded about an air-hole in the cham-

ber, whence proceeded the buzzing sound I had before noticed.

The *President* now selected three persons to form a deputation, in order to announce to the people the sentence that had been pronounced. During the proclamation, I demanded of the judges a copy of the judgment: they promised to grant it. The *President* asked why I did not wear the cross of SAINT LOUIS, which he knew I had received? On this I told him that I had been requested by my fellow prisoners to leave it off. He replied, that the National Assembly not having *as yet* prohibited the wearing of it, it appeared suspicious to conceal it.

In the mean time the three deputies returned, and *desired me to be covered*; they then conducted me out of the wicket. The moment I arrived in the street, one of them exclaimed,—“*Hats off! Citizens, behold him for whom your judges demand aid and assistance!*”—These words were no sooner pronounced, than the *Executive Power* lifted me up, and setting me in the middle of four torches, I was embraced by the surrounding multitude. All the spectators then cried out, *Vive la Nation!* These honours, with which I was much affected, placed me under the safeguard of the people, who, amidst loud and reiterated plaudits, allowed me to pass through them, followed by the three deputies whom the president had charged to conduct me safe home. —One of them told me, that he was a stone-mason, belonging to the *Fauxbourg St. Germain*; the other was a journeyman wig-maker, born at Bourges; the
third,

third, who was clothed in the uniform of the national guard, said, he was a federate. The stone-mason asked me if I was afraid? and desired me to have no apprehensions; "for, as I was under the protection of the people, it would be instant death to molest me." "I was glad," added he, "when you were acquitted; for I soon perceived that you were not one of the *caterpillars of the civil list*."

When we had reached the street *St. Benoit*, we got into a hackney-coach, which stopped at my lodgings. The first movement on the part of my host—of my *friend*, on seeing me return, was to offer his purse to my conductors, who refused it, and added literally as follows:—*We do not follow this trade for money! Here is your friend; he has promised us a glass of brandy; we shall drink it, and then return to our post.*

They demanded a certificate, that they had conducted me home without any accident. I then accompanied into the street, and embraced them most cordially.

After a few hours sleep, I took a walk in the garden of citizen *Egalité*, that very day, and I could perceive many persons rubbing their eyes, as if to discover if it was really me. I was embraced even by strangers; in short, it was a festival to me.

In a few days after my liberation, I deemed it necessary to publish this account; and the principal reason that induced me to it is to exhibit proofs, that if the people are impetuous and irresistible when they

deem themselves betrayed, one ought not on this account to despair of their justice."

BUREAU DE PUZY,

Formerly confined by the king of Prussia, and until lately languishing in a dungeon at Olmutz, by command of the emperour, like La Fayette, was originally arrested on a *neutral* territory, in express contravention of the laws of nations.

Descended from an ancient and noble family, he entered at an early period of life into the *corps* of engineers, and although appertaining to the *privileged* orders, soon distinguished himself by an ardent and sincere attachment to the cause of liberty. In consequence of this, added to his family interest, he became a member of the legislature, filled the president's chair, three different times, and in that situation, actually received and administered the first constitutional oath.

By the constituent assembly, he was chosen to execute the grand plan of the *departmental* division, which he himself had first conceived of France, and in 1792, we find him acting as a general officer under his friend, La Fayette, with whom he was afterwards confined. Such was the *mercy* of despotism, that they were not permitted to behold each other's sufferings, being carefully separated by stone walls, massy bolts, and iron wickets !

LA TOUR-MAUBOURG,

Their companion in misfortune, and their common friend, would have risen to a higher rank in the army, had not his preferment been stopped by his principles. He also was a deputy to the constituent assembly, and distinguished himself by his love of liberty. Without being tried by any court of law, found guilty of any crime before any tribunal, or even accused of any offence, this brave man was immersed within the walls of a dungeon, excluded from the converse of mankind, and deprived of the comfort and consolation of a wife, and six children who adore him. His friend Bureau de Puzy, was in like manner secluded from his wife and child, while to augment the horror of the picture, Madame La Fayette, and her two daughters were shut up in the same filthy cell, with their husband and father, to whose miseries they incessantly added, by the hourly exhibition of their own. O despotism ! it is ignorance alone that can pronounce thy name without a paroxysm of rage !

The families of La Fayette, and Maubourg, before united in friendship, may now be said to be united in love, a marriage having just taken place between a son of the one, and a daughter of the other, in the vicinity of Altona, where they have remained ever since their deliverance from an unmerited captivity.

M. MALOUE.

This gentleman, if not a native of, was at least a considerable planter in the French West-India Islands. He was, however, educated in Europe, and must be allowed to possess extraordinary talents, and considerable learning.

Happening to be in St. Domingo, at the time of the revolution, he was elected one of the deputies for the colony. That island so lately a prey to war and massacres, is the second in point of size, but it was the first in the West Indies, in respect to produce and cultivation. Before the present unfortunate war, the riches and luxury of the inhabitants astonished the European. Living in a state of Asiatick splendour, the proprietors of the sugar-works, in the neighbourhood of the Cape, might be said to rival the nabobs of Bengal. Their wealth procured them all that a capricious fancy could long for; and their power on their own estates, was superiour to that of an oriental bashaw, in his government. Like all the great men in southern climates, they affected to keep their *harams*. The negro, samboe, mullatto, quadroon, and mestize, were ready either to solicit their languid appetites, or satiate their fiery passions. The barbarous but lively musick of Africa, the fine flavoured fruits produced between the tropicks, the delicious wines of France, and the mystick mazes of the dance formed by their compliant female attendants, of a thousand varied hues, made the mansion-house

house of the slave-owner, resemble a Mahomedan paradise.

Far different were the other portions of the scene. A long line of negroes, with drivers at certain stated distances brandished their knotted scourges, and opened the bleeding muscles with each inflicted wound. Two or three pallid men, withering in the sun, that scorched them into fury, felt their passions sublimed by the heat of the climate, and now urged to unremitting labour, and now called for fresh punishment.

At the mill, you might behold a few mutilated females feeding the rollers with fresh canes to the extreme danger of their yet remaining members; at the still-house, was not unfrequently to be seen, an unhappy wretch, who had fled from slavery into the woods—from man to nature—chained to the eternal fire; while after the labours of the day, the field slaves retired not to rest, but to new exertions in the boiling-house, carrying a load of accursed sugar-cane on their scarified backs!

In such a state of society as this, where the planter can turn despot with impunity, and force thousands of men with a darker complexion than his own to endure every thing short of death; it need occasion but little wonder, that the sound of *liberty* should be dreadful.

The French revolution accordingly found the planters in general, stern and inflexible royalists. The subject of the present notice, is expressly of this description, for he seems to doubt whether freedom

be a blessing to be obtained, or a curse to be deprecated. But as he is an honest and able man, notwithstanding his prejudices, he confesses, that it is *unjust* to keep the negroes in a state of bondage *, and yet he actually attempts to demonstrate the necessity of it: as if justice were to give way to policy †.

“I curse, as well as you do,” says he “the first man who made a beast of burden of his equal; let the planter learn, that slavery is a violation of the law of nature! Let him consider it not as a right, but as a necessary evil, of which we are obliged some time longer to put up with the inconveniences, as the punishment for the barbarity and avarice of our progenitors.”

M. Malouet was an able supporter of monarchy, in the National Assembly, and is allowed on all sides to have been an eloquent and accomplished speaker. He, however, at length deemed it prudent to emigrate, and he has taken refuge in this country, where he occasionally commits his ideas to the press. His last publication is entitled, “*Examen de cette ques-*

* “*A Dieu ne plaise que j'érige aussi en principe en droit impréscriptible, l'esclavage des negres!*”

† “*Je maudis comme vous le premier homme qui fit de son semblable un bête de somme, &c.*”

“*Que le planteur Américain apprenne de toute part que l'esclavage est en effet la violation du droit naturel! qu'il le considere, non comme un droit, mais comme un mal nécessaire dont nous devons subir encore quelques temps, les inconvéniens comme la peine de la barbarie & de la cupidité de nos peres!*”

tion :

tion : *Quel sera pour les Colonies de l'Amérique le Résultat de la Revolution Françoisé, de la Guerre qui en est la suite, & de la Paix qui doit la terminer ?*" He wishes in this pamphlet to prevent the possibility of emancipation on the part of the negroes, and for that purpose, he recommends it to the belligerent powers, to leave all internal regulations to the colonists themselves ! He allows, however, that negro slavery seems to become unpopular every where, and he hints in more than one passage, that Europe will soon be supplied with sugars, solely from Bengal.

M. Malouet's plantation in St. Domingo, has been destroyed during the troubles, and his friends are afraid lest a late failure in the city should have straitened his circumstances *.

MADAME DU BARRY.

The fate of a royal mistress, however melancholy the catastrophe may be, is seldom bewailed by the people, and this was precisely the case, in respect to this lady, whose execution had been long ago predicted by Demorande, and accomplished in a manner, that neither the victim nor the prophet could have ever dreamed of.

Madame du Barry, rendered a beauty by the hand

* “ *Je n'avois d'autre hypothèque à offrir à la maison Mülmann que mon habitation dévastée au pouvoir des républicaines, & le secours que j'en ai reçu depuis quatre ans n'ont eu d'autres bornes que celles que j'y ai mises moi-même.*”

of nature, created a countess by the command of Louis XV. and elevated by accident from a brothel to a partnership in the throne, affords one of the many examples of folly and profligacy, that produced and indeed, justified the French revolution.

Her origin was obscure, but in the days of her glory, she found means to claim a relationship with some of the first families in Ireland, and actually conferred employments on two or three *noble* soldiers of fortune, from that country, whom she called her *cousins*, and who deemed themselves amply compensated for the disgrace, by regiments and *croix de St. Louis*.

The favourite, conducted herself in a manner, that at once demonstrated her own insolence, the king's folly, and the courtiers' servility. Her *levé* was attended by all that was great, or more properly speaking, by all that was mean in France. On rising one morning from bed, in presence of the monarch, and his dissipated companions, she ordered the Pope's nuncio to hand her one slipper, while the grand almoner (an archbishop) put on the other! each deeming himself highly honoured by the employment; and fully recompensed with the transitory view of her charms.

The chancellor of France, at her request, signed a patent, constituting her negro, governor of the castle of Lucienne, with a pension of six hundred livres a year. The princes of the blood, were treated by her, sometimes with insolence, and at other times with a vulgar familiarity. When the late

duke of Orleans' father, solicited her interest relative to his marriage with Madame de Montesson, she tapped him on the belly (he was a fat man), cracked a joke on his person, *permitted* him to consummate the nuptials, and engaged to take all the consequences upon herself. The late queen (Marie Antoinette), while dauphiness, was at last obliged to entertain, and even pay court regularly to her. She issued *bons*, in the same manner as the monarch, and drew on the royal treasury, to whatever amount she pleased, without the intervention of the royal signet. In short, her *toilet* was of gold, her jewels were superiour to those of any princess in Europe (our own most gracious queen's only excepted), and her villa, or as it was termed her *pavilion*, at Lucienne, was furnished at an expence equal to a German subsidy.

So powerful was her interest, that the death of Louis XV. and the indignation of the people, neither produced seclusion nor restitution.

At the revolution, this lady, who, according to the Parisians,—always fond of indemnifying themselves for their slavery by a pun,—had risen from an *Ecu* to a *Louis*, very naturally took part with a court, to which she was attached, both by vanity and gratitude. Her vast wealth, however, and her penchant for a nobleman of high rank, prevented her from emigrating, and adding to the number of the *noblesse* who assembled at Coblenz.

Soon after the king's execution, she repaired to this country, and might have found an asylum here,

but she was naturally of an intriguing disposition, and instantly commenced a negociation for the restoration of the monarchy.

Her charms made no impression on Mr. Pitt, but his zeal, if not his person, attracted her warmest regards. She always spoke of him with raptures, considered him as the protector of the exiled princes, and actually returned to France with his *miniature picture* attached by a gold chain to her neck—that *once* lovely neck, so soon to be severed by the unpitying guillotine !

Caligula made his horse Consul—Madame du Barry created her black page a governor, and actually bartered a *croix de St. Louis* for a paroquet. The philosopher scarcely knows which most to despise : the Romans of one age, or the French of another !

GARIN

Was one of the municipal officers of Paris, and appertained to that powerful body, at a time it regulated the destiny of the whole empire.

In 1793, the capital was menaced with the dreadful scourge of famine, and if we are to believe some speculative men, this originated in a *populicide* conspiracy, on the part of the then existing government.

It has been asserted, with more zeal than truth, that the Committee of Publick Safety, Garat, the minister of the home department, and Pache the mayor, were all either actors or accomplices in this infernal plot ! Be this as it may, so far is certain,
that

that Garin, who had become a member of the Committee of Subsistence, imagining that an infamous coalition existed, which counteracted all his endeavours, determined to denounce the authors of it. On this the forty-eight sections nominated a special commission, in order to enquire into the facts, and Babœuf the secretary of the committee, having laid a report before them, they took him, Garin and his colleague Favanne, under their special protection.

The Committee of Publick Safety, notwithstanding this, dissolved the commission; Garin was stripped of his office and arrested; he was not, however, sent to prison, but remained during ten months confined in his house, with three keepers.

He was one of the few members of the *Commune*, who did not participate in the conspiracy of the 9th Thermidor. On the contrary, he repaired with his guards to the *Champs-Élysées*, to combat, with his accustomed energy, the faction of Robespierre. Some time after this, he obtained his liberty; but he fell sick the day after, and died in the course of a week.

Occupied in favour of liberty from the beginning of the revolution, he had not only neglected, but ruined his fortune, and died poor. His family, consequently, is in want, and depends solely on the bounty of the republick.

MADAME DE SILLERY.

The lady now known by this name, and formerly by those of Madame de Brulart, and Madame de Genlis, has distinguished herself in the republick of letters.

At an early period of her life, she entered into the service of the family of Orleans, and possessed great influence over the duke, until he turned *politician*, a situation he was but little calculated for, either by nature or education. On his mission to England, which has still something apocryphal in it, she excused his departure, in a note, which the amiable and respectable duchess, his unfortunate consort, transmitted to all the journals. She also advised him against accepting the regency; and he being like Mr. Burke's friend, Lord Keppel, no great *clerk*, she arranged the letter, announcing his refusal.

Having succeeded at the commencement of the revolution to a large fortune, she gave in her resignation as *gouvernante*, but afterwards accompanied one of her female pupils to England, which occasioned her to be included in the list of emigrants. She was afterwards decreed in a state of accusation, on account of her supposed connection with Dumouriez; but, on the contrary, she had given that general great offence, by declaring it as her opinion, that France, after overturning the monarchy, was bound in honour to maintain the republic.

Madame de Sillery, who had lived on terms of intimacy with D'Alembert, and all the great men of France, during her own time, was supposed to have drawn up the celebrated paper, published in the name of the duke of Orleans, entitled, "*Cahiers à ses commetans*," which gave a wonderful impulsion to the publick mind, and served as a
model

model to most of those printed anterior to the meeting of the states-general. She, however, denies this now, as she did at that time to Madame de Boufflers; and it is thought to be the production of his friend La Clos; a man more celebrated for his talents than his morals. To the honour of this lady, she was always ready to patronize men of genius, and to her was left the direction of such sums as the duke of Orleans chose to confer on those who sustained the honour of French literature. She also procured a pension from M. de Calonne, for an author whom she had never seen, but whose productions she was charmed with.

After having married one of her pupils (the accomplished Pamela) to the brave and unfortunate Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and placed another under the protection of her own family, she retired to and now resides in the King of Denmark's German dominions, in the neighbourhood of Altona, with her niece, who is married to M. de Valence.

Madame de Sillery complains bitterly of the arts that have been resorted to in order to calumniate her; and, with a view to obviate all suspicion, she has published a history of her life, since the important epoch of the revolution, in which she endeavours to rescue her character from the aspersions of ignorance and malevolence. She tells us, that after having consecrated twenty-five years to the education of her children and her pupils, she at last enjoys that retirement after which her heart had always panted. She has been accused of a turn for intrigue; but is this likely, when it is recollected that she never solicited a favour from

the court, and never once waited on a minister ; that she occupied nearly the whole of her time in the duties of instruction ; shut herself up in a convent, and never gave or received an entertainment during thirteen years ?

She had early foreseen that the views of the court, the disorder of the finances, and the general discontent, were likely to produce an intestine commotion. In order to avoid its effects, she had determined to repair to Nice with her pupils ; but this resolution gave such a stab to the *frail and fatal popularity* of the house of *Orleans*, that the scheme was abandoned. Madame de Sillery however obtained the promise of being permitted to repair to England as soon as the constitution should be finished. In the mean time, the Duke himself went thither suddenly, and without giving her any previous notice ; a circumstance unexpected rather than astonishing, as since his father's death he had withdrawn his confidence entirely from her, and conferred it on M. de la Clos and Mr. Shee. No sooner had he returned from London, than she retired into the bosom of her own family ; but, on receiving intelligence that Mademoiselle D'Orleans was ill, she instantly set off for Paris, resumed her former situation, and repaired with that young lady to England in October 1791. After remaining some time at Bath, they visited Bury, where she first heard of the execrable massacres of the 2d and 3d September.

Having been at length driven from their pleasant situation in Suffolk, by the anonymous letters and menaces of the emigrants, they repaired to London. Here again they were alarmed on their arrival, by the

the horn-boys of an evening paper, who bawled about the streets "An account of the secret conference between Madame Genlis and M. de Calonne*!"

Previously to their return to France, they spent a month at the hospitable mansion † of Mr. Sheridan, to whose distinguished talents, as well as those of Mr. Fox, she pays many compliments.

On their arrival at Calais, they found themselves included in the list of emigrants, and after a few days residence at Paris, were obliged to retire to Flanders, until their names should be erased from the fatal catalogue!

Here Gen. Dumouriez shewed them some civilities, but no participation in his conspiracy ensued.—Soon after he had raised the standard of rebellion, Madame de Sillery was forced to remove from Tournay to Mons, where she endeavoured to remain concealed from her family, lest they should be implicated in her supposed guilt. With this view she wrote the following letter to her beloved daughter, then at Paris:

"My dear child,

"The revolt of M. Dumouriez has forced me to fly. Being unable to re-enter France, I am about to repair to a foreign but neutral country, to wait my recall. I shall be no more an emigrant there, than I was at Tournay; however, my dear child, I prohibit

* She dreaded lest this ridiculous report, during those times of jealousy and suspicion, should expose her to the resentment of the ruling party.

† At Isleworth.

you from writing to me, if you should accidentally discover the place of my retreat. Be perfectly tranquil respecting my circumstances; I possess all the resources necessary to my present situation, and I stand in no need of assistance of any kind.

“ Adieu, my dear and tender friend! my heart shall always be with you, and I shall constantly offer up my vows for the happiness and prosperity of my country.”

Soon after this, the female travellers made all possible haste through Germany, and arrived in Switzerland, having been furnished with passports by the once celebrated Gen. Mack.

Switzerland was hostile to the French republick, at this time, from a variety of causes. The nation had withdrawn her subsidies, sent back the mercenary soldiers, and evinced some degree of indignation at the marked protection given to the emigrants. Such of the cantons, too, as had *subject countries*, were alarmed at the success of a revolution, which threatened the annihilation of all despotism, whether monarchical or oligarchical.

The family of Orleans had acted too conspicuous a part in the late commotions to experience much respect there; it was to be hoped, however, that they would find security. This was not the case; for the magistrates of Zurich interdicted their residence within that city. At Zug, in consequence of the influence and the malice of the emigrants, joined to the interference of the canton of Berne, they proved equally unsuccessful. Gen. Montesquieu, however, although then a fugitive himself, exerted his interest

terest so effectually, that he procured their reception into the convent of St. Claire, at a little distance from Bumgarten.

M. DE CHARTRES*, eldest son of the late Duke of Orleans, here joined, but soon left them, in order to make the tour of the cantons on foot: he had already traversed *all* Germany in the same manner.

“How often have I felicitated myself since his misfortunes,” says Madame de Sillery, “on the education I bestowed on him! on the lucky circumstance of causing him to be taught the principal modern languages; on accustoming him to wait on himself, to despise idleness, to sleep on a wooden board covered with a piece of cloth, to brave the sun, the rain, and the cold; to accustom himself to fatigue by means of violent exercises, and journies of four or five leagues daily: in short, at having inspired him with a taste for travelling.

“He has lost all he owed to the chances of birth and fortune, and nothing now remains but what he has received from me!”

* M. DE CHARTRES served with great reputation in the army of the Republick, and distinguished himself particularly at the battle of Jemappe. He had been introduced by his father to the Jacobin society, of which he became a member; was ardent and zealous in behalf of the system of representative government, and entertained the most enthusiastick principles concerning the rights of the people, the equality of mankind, and the dangers of monarchy.

After earning his livelihood in an honourable and most exemplary manner as a teacher in one of the Swiss colleges, he is said to have repaired to America.

On the 8th of March 1796, hearing that there was a party in France attached to him, and a numerous body of his adherents in foreign countries, who wished to place him on the throne, Madame de S. sent him a letter, from which the following passages are transcribed:

“ You aspire to *royalty*! you wish to become an *Usurper*!” exclaims she, “ in order to abolish a republick which you yourself have acknowledged, and for which you have fought valiantly! and at what a period! when France becomes organized, when the government is established, when it appears to be founded on the solid basis of morality and justice!— What degree of confidence can France place in a *constitutional king*, twenty-three years old, whom she beheld but two years before an ardent republican, and the most enthusiastick partisan of equality?— Might not such a king, as well as any other, insensibly abolish the constitution, and become despotick? According to generally-received ideas, the interval is less distant between any kind of royalty and despotism, than between a democratick government and the most limited royalty?”

In the mean time the daughter of one of the most illustrious, and, perhaps also, the most wealthy house in Europe, was reduced to a situation bordering on extreme poverty. The Duke of Modena, on being applied to, excused himself from receiving Mademoiselle d’Orleans, on account of political motives, and contented himself with transmitting 180 *louis d’or* for the relief of the necessities of his niece!

At length the Princess de Conti consented to take the young lady under her protection; on this, after many tender adieus on both sides, Madame de Genlis left Switzerland, re-entered Germany, descended the Rhine in a boat to Cologne, and, travelling in a private carriage to Utretcht, remained there for some weeks. She then set out from Oud-Naarden, in company with a trader, in a kind of stage-waggon, half full of merchandise, where, however, she found means to sleep infinitely better than she had ever been able to do, in those gilded vehicles so improperly termed *dormeuſes*. At Oſnaburgh, she hired a cabriolet, arrived at Hamburgh in July 1794, and proceeding directly to Altona, lived eight months in a retired manner, aſſuming a feigned name, that she might avoid notice, and be allowed to purſue her literary occupations in tranquillity.

She then hired a farm in Daniſh Holſtein, about five leagues from Hamburgh, where she has reſided ever ſince with her niece Madame Valence, and that lady's huſband*.

Madame de Sillery, notwithstanding her repeated ſolicitations, has not as yet been able to get her name eraſed from the liſt of emigrants. She is extremely deſirous of returning into her native country, fully determined to reſpect the *new order of things*, as ſhe deems it criminal to oppoſe herſelf to the wiſh of a whole nation; but whatever may occur, ſhe is re-

* Gen. Valence, who, after diſtinguiſhing himſelf by his extraordinary prowefs, firſt joined in Dumouriez's revolt, and then emigrated along with him.

solved to continue a French citizen, even in a foreign land, if she cannot be one within the circuit of the republick.

"No pecuniary interest induces me," says she, "to return to my native country; I possess no personal fortune, and I can only claim a dowry, the very recollection of which strikes me with horror.

"My sole motive is to obtain that justice which is my due, and once more embrace my daughter, my grandchildren and friends, whom heaven has still preserved to me. I should also wish to repair to Marseilles, to offer the succour of a truly maternal tenderness to my innocent and unfortunate pupils. But if I be refused this request, I shall bear my strange destiny with resignation. I have fulfilled my duties; I have at length obtained an honourable asylum, and I shall find in my own conscience, and in the esteem of those I love, all the consolation which I myself require."

C. A. BRULART DE SILLERY,

The husband of the former, was born at Paris in 1756, and known before the revolution by the title of Count de Genlis. He was a man of great courage, wit, and talents; he had served in the marine in India, and was covered with wounds, received in the service. When only twenty years of age, he obtained the *croix de St. Louis*, for a brilliant action achieved by him.

He

He was nominated a member both of the constituent assembly and the national convention, in the latter of which he sat as a deputy from the department of La Somme.

He and his wife seem to have been very cool in their attachment to each other, for at the age of thirty she shut herself up in a convent at *Bellechasse*, where she seems to have confined herself during thirteen years. They, however, wrote to each other in the *tendrest manner possible*, and on her return from England, he repaired to Calais, to attend her to the capital.

He voted against the death of Louis, and on this occasion transmitted the following letter to Madame de Genlis, who was then abroad, being considered as an emigrant:

“Je vous envoie mon opinion imprimée, vous verrez qu'en opinant pour la *réclusion jusqu'à la paix*, je dis franchement, et qu'il ne mérite point la mort, et que nous n'avons point le droit de le juger, &c. J'ai suivi les mouvemens de ma conscience, sachant très-bien que cette opinion énoncée si nettement est l'arrêt de ma mort.”

On being requested by his wife to emigrate, he answered in the true stile and spirit of a gallant officer, “Qu'il ne déserteroit jamais.”

He was imprisoned * for some time, then included

* “Sillery entered into a regular commercial negociation for his liberty, and the bargain was at length sealed with a present of two hundred bottles of his champagne. However, notwithstanding this,

in the proscription of the deputies of the *Gironde*, and executed on the 31st of October 1793, in the 37th year of his age.

M. ROLAND,

MINISTER OF THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

Amidst the excesses of the revolutionary government, it may have been difficult to appreciate the great men who appeared successively on the political stage. The panegyrics of interested individuals, the denunciations of personal enemies, the clamours of disappointed faction, the arts and intrigues of party,—all tend to throw a cloud around the judgment, and render even the purest character equivocal.

The days of terrour and delusion are, however, now past; the proscriptions of the modern Syllas and Mariuses are at an end; ROBESPIERRE, MARAT, and ST. JUST, have been punished; and, alas! ROLAND himself is no more!

At the representation of one of the tragedies of Æschylus, the Athenian people, assembled in the

he did not procure his entire liberation, but was confined at the Luxembourg less rigorously than before, and allowed to converse with whomsoever he pleased.

“Two or three women of bad fame, dependent on some of the members of the committees of public safety and general surety, formed a kind of commercial society, and stipulated the price to be paid either for the deliverance or gentle usage of every remarkable citizen. The Cordeliers at this time attempted to demonstrate the necessity of making away with suspected persons, and punishments were denounced against those who spoke unfavourably of the massacres of September.”

Madame Roland's Appeal.

public

publick theatre, on the repetition of a sentence in commendation of moral goodness, instantly fixed their eyes on the son of Lyfimachus. Perhaps posterity, while perusing the history of the present times, may burst out into commendations at the name of the modern *Aristides*.

Roland, known before the revolution by the designation of M. Roland *de la Platière*, was a native of the South of France, having been born at *le Clos la Platière*, four leagues from Villefranche, in 1732. His family, which was ancient, possessed a fief, and, having attained considerable eminence in the law, was considered as appertaining to what was then termed *Noblesse de la robe* *.

He

* This circumstance was recurred to, as a reproach against Roland, by the Mountain party, when they wished to render him unpopular. It was also considered as a crime, that *letters of nobility* had been solicited for him in 1784.

“ On a reproché a Roland d'avoir sollicité des lettres de noblesse ; voici la vérité. Sa famille en avoit les privileges depuis plusieurs siècles, par charges, mais qui ne les transmettoient point ; et par l'opulence qui en soutient toutes les marques, armoires, chapelle, livrée, fief, &c.

“ L'opulence disparut ; elle fut suivie d'une médiocrité honnête, et Roland avoit la perspective de finir ses jours dans un domaine, le seul qui resta à sa famille, et qui appartient encore à son aîné ; il crut avoir droit, par son travail, à assurer à ses descendans un avantage dont ses auteurs avoient joui, et qu'il auroit dédaigné d'acheter. Il présente ses titres en conséquence, pour obtenir des lettres de reconnaissance de noblesse ou d'annoblissement. C'étoit au commencement de 1784 ; je ne fais quel est l'homme qui, à cette époque, et dans sa situation, eût cru contraire à sagesse d'en faire autant. Je

vins

He was the younger of five brothers, and as a considerable part of the patrimonial fortune had been dissipated, it was intended to get rid of, by placing him in the church. This he objected to, as not suiting his disposition, and, at the age of nineteen, left the paternal mansion, and went to Nantes, with a view of sailing to the Indies.

The weak state of his lungs, accompanied with a spitting of blood, prevented the execution of this project; he therefore repaired to Rouen, where his relation M. Godinot, an inspector of manufactures, proposed to him to follow this branch of administration. —He complied with the invitation, and soon distinguished himself by his industry, activity, and, above all, by his disinterestedness. In consequence of his extraordinary merits, he was employed by government, and received an appointment, which, if not commensurate with his merits, at least supplied all his wants, and satisfied his ambition. His chief delight was in study; he became a man of letters in his youth, and was a philosopher, not only in theory but in practice.

Residing at Amiens, in 1775, in his official capacity, he happened to visit at the house of a Madame

vins à Paris, je vis bientôt que les nouveaux intendants du commerce, jaloux de son ancienneté dans une partie d'administration où il en favoit plus qu'eux, en contradiction avec ses opinions sur la liberté du commerce qu'il défendoit avec vigueur, en lui donnant les attestations requises de ses grands travaux, qu'ils ne pouvoient refuser, n'y mettroient pas l'accent qui fait réussir. Je jugeai que c'étoit une idée à laisser dormir, et je ne poussai point les tentatives."

Cannet,

Cannet, from whom he heard a great deal about a very extraordinary young Parisian, called Mademoiselle Phlipon, the daughter of a respectable artist, whose picture he at the same time saw and admired. As he repaired every winter to the capital, he requested a letter of introduction to the lady of whom he had heard so much, and received one * from the hands of Sophia Cannet, who had lived for some time in the same convent, and carried on a regular correspondence with her.

On his arrival in Paris, he proceeded to her father's house, and found her in mourning for the death of a beloved mother. Her afflictions had tinted her lovely countenance with a soft and tender melancholy, which proved highly interesting to her philosophical visitor, who, notwithstanding his admiration of the ancients, was captivated at the sight of a handsome, modern French woman, of twenty-one years of age. He himself at this period appeared to be rather more than forty, tall in person, negligent in his attitudes, and with that kind of *rust* about him, which usually accompanies studious men. His manners, however, were at once simple and easy, and without possessing the elegance of high life, he seemed to ally the po-

* “ Cette lettre te sera remise,” m’écrivait ma bonne amie, “ par le philosophe, dont je t’ai fait quelquefois mention, *M. Roland de la Platière*, homme éclairé, de mœurs pures, à qui l’on ne peut reprocher que sa grande admiration pour les anciens aux dépens des modernes qu’il déprise, et le foible de trop aimer à parler de lui.”— Ce portrait est moins qu’une ébauche; mais le trait se trouvoit juste et bien saisi.

Appel à l’impartiale postérité, par la citoyenne Roland.

liteness

liteness of a man of birth with the gravity of a philosopher.

Although very thin, of a yellow complexion, and with a forehead already beginning to appear bald, yet his features were regular: but in the opinion of his mistress he seemed rather *respectable than seducing*. In discourse, his countenance evinced a subtle kind of smile, and he became extremely animated when he argued on any subject. His voice was masculine, his periods were short, and his conversation full of matter, for his head was replete with ideas.

At that period he had just returned from the tour of Germany; in 1776, he made preparations for visiting Italy, and as he had by this time conceived a great regard for his new acquaintance, he deposited all his manuscripts in her hand, which were to be at her disposal, if any misfortune should happen to him in the course of his journey. Such a conspicuous mark of esteem appears to have affected her greatly, and perhaps laid the foundation of that regard which afterwards produced a closer union.

During his absence, one of his brothers, a benedictine prior of the college of Clugny, at Paris, a man of talents, gentle manners, and amiable character, often called on Mademoiselle Phlipon, with news concerning her lover, and he read to her his observations on the men, manners, and manufactures of the countries through which he passed; these were afterwards published.

On

On his return, M. Roland repeated his visits, and an intimate friendship was soon established between them : but when, at the end of five years, he pressed her to marriage, the young lady at first declined entering into that state, from the most generous motives : she imagined the union might not be altogether agreeable to his family, and she knew that it could not be advantageous, for although bred up in the expectation of a large dowery, an income of five hundred livres a year, and her wardrobe, at this moment constituted her sole fortune.

Her father, who was perhaps afraid of being questioned by a son-in-law, concerning the property which he had dissipated, refused his consent to the union, after that of his daughter had been obtained. In consequence of this, she retired to a convent, and M. Roland, affected, on his return to town, at seeing her appear at the grate, insisted on her immediately becoming his wife, and after obtaining his suit, loved her more and more, in proportion as he became better acquainted with her many estimable qualities.

The first year of their union was spent in Paris, whether Roland had been called by the *Intendants of Commerce*, who wished to make new regulations respecting manufactures; regulations which he combated, in opposition to his own private interest, but with all his might, because founded on narrow notions, and hostile to those principles of general liberty, which he wished to introduce.

A a

During

During his residence in the capital, he caused some papers which he had drawn up for the academy to be printed, and he prepared his manuscripts relative to Italy.

Madame Roland, on this occasion, corrected the proof sheets, and made out fair copies of his intended publication, relative to the South of Europe. She at the same time went through a course of natural history, applied herself to the study of botany ; and as the health of her husband was very delicate, did not scruple to superintend the management of the table, or even to prepare such dishes with her own hand, as were likely to agree with his delicate stomach.

The next four years were spent at Amiens, where she became a mother * and a nurse, without ceasing to participate in the literary labours of her husband, who was entrusted with a considerable part of the New Encyclopedia. This happy couple never quitted their study, but in order to visit the neighbouring country ; during those solitary rambles, Madame Roland made an *herbal* of the plants of Picardy, and a taste for aquatick botany, produced a little work on that subject †.

In 1784, they removed to the generality of Lyons, and resided for some time near Villefranche, in the house where M. Roland was born, along with his

* She never had but one child—a lovely daughter, whom she herself suckled, and who survives her.

† *L'Art du Tourlier.*

mother and his eldest brother, who was a canon. Some domestick chagrins seem to have rendered their stay here rather disagreeable, for Madame la Platière was ill-natured, and her eldest son affected a superiority over the youngest, which was intolerable to a man of a bold, original, and independent mind. Two of the winter months were constantly spent at Lyons, then considered as one of the first cities of the kingdom, and the resort of all the provincial nobility.

In 1784, they visited England, and in 1787 made the tour of Germany.

On the death of Madame la Platière, they resided chiefly at the family mansion, called, *Le Clos la Platière*, situated in the parish of Thézée. The soil does not appear fertile, but it produces excellent wine, and is the last region of the vineyards on this side of the high mountains of Beaujolois.

In this sylvan retreat, Roland pursued his literary labours in an uninterrupted succession, while his amiable consort entered into all the details of rural economy. The neighbouring peasantry in her found a friend, during the hour of distress, and she became the physician of the adjacent country.

In 1789, she snatched her husband from the ravages of a horrible malady; sat up six days and nights without either sleeping or changing her clothes, and nursed him with uncommon tenderness during a convalescence of six months.

† At this period M. Roland was well known to the present President of the Royal Society, and visited frequently at his house.

At length the period of the revolution arrived, and this respectable family, abandoning domestick ease, prepared both to act and to suffer in the cause of freedom. The friends of humanity, the adorers of liberty, they fondly hoped that the epoch of meliorating the condition of the human race was arrived; and that the miseries of the lower orders in France, at which they had so often wept, was about to be done away. In this disposition of mind, they considered the convocation of the states-general as a happy augury, and hailed that great event with transport.

— Happening to be at Lyons about this time, the opinions of Roland converted many of his former friends into bitter enemies. Habituated to the selfish calculations of commerce, they could not conceive how it was possible to provoke and applaud those changes, by which the inferiour classes were alone likely to profit!

The patriots of that city, on the other hand, were rejoiced to behold a man of family, worth, and fortune, attached to their interests, and on the first formation of a municipality he was elected one of the officers. In this station he soon distinguished himself by his talents, and still more by his inflexible integrity. These inestimable qualities occasioned him to be employed in an important mission to the constituent assembly. Discussions concerning commerce at that period occupied the attention of the legislature, and it was necessary that the second city in the empire, one too, so famous for its population, opulence,

opulence, and manufactures, should have a skilful agent in the capital to watch over its interests. The immense debts with which it was burthened was also another consideration of no small consequence.

Roland was accordingly fixed upon, and he repaired with his family to Paris, where he spent a whole year, and soon formed connexions that raised him to the highest dignities of the state. His character was already established; he was a member of all the academies of the South of France, and had drawn up the *cabiers* of the city of Lyons, on the convocation of the States General, at the express recommendation of the society of agriculture.

After faithfully discharging the various functions of his new appointment, he returned to his native province, and soon after learned that the office of *inspector* was abolished. Thirty-eight years of constant and assiduous service entitled him to some provision, and it was with a view to obtain this, that he returned to the capital in December 1791; but he soon found that the situation of publick affairs was such, that particular interests must give way, and he accordingly seems from that moment to have abandoned every idea of an indemnification.

It was at that period he formed an acquaintance with Brissot: this circumstance contributed greatly to decide his future destiny. By him he was introduced to the Jacobin club, then an assemblage of the most enlightened patriots of the age; but he never ascended the tribune. Soon after his admission he was nominated a member of the committee of

correspondence, and as he was assisted by his wife, his industry was considered as exemplary.

Several deputies of the assembly were accustomed to meet in a large apartment in the *Place Vendôme*, and Roland, whose knowledge and integrity were now generally known, was invited to repair thither; but the distance was so great from the quarter in which he lived, that he went but seldom. The few times he appeared there increased, however, the good opinion before conceived of him, and led to his immediate advancement.

Publick affairs, at this period, assumed a cloudy aspect, and much jealousy had been excited by the suspicious conduct of the court. The administration was composed of men unfriendly to the cause of liberty, and by their actions they appeared far from being indisposed to overturn a constitution which the King had reluctantly sworn to maintain, and which he seemed desirous to overthrow on the first favourable opportunity. His secret advisers, however, began to be afraid of the consequences; for the whole nation was aroused. It was said, that if Louis were sincere, instead of choosing his ministers from among the adherents of the ancient system, he would select publick functionaries, whose *civism* was unspotted.

Fear or weakness at length inclined the court to listen to the general wish, and it was decided with equal secrecy and cunning, either to gain over the new ministers, or dismiss them. It was accordingly agreed upon, that a patriot administration should be
formed;

formed; and as some of the *Girondists* were consulted as to the proper persons to be put in nomination, the committee of the *Place Vendôme* instantly pointed out Roland, as an able man who had written on several different branches of administration, who possessed experience, enjoyed an unsullied reputation, and who, to a proper age and exemplary morals, added a decided attachment to liberty, the principles of which he had inculcated in his writings, antierior to the commencement of the revolution.

The King, who was not unacquainted with these facts, consented, and Brissot waited on Madame Roland, in order to sound her about the inclinations of her husband, respecting so important a charge as that of Minister of the Home Department.

Roland was not insensible either to the responsibility attached to such an office, or the dangers and difficulties accompanying his acceptance of it, at such a critical period. But he was convinced, on the other hand, that his intentions were pure, his designs honourable; and he accordingly accepted the appointment, with a fixed determination to exercise his functions no longer than he could prove serviceable to the state.

The very next day Dumouriez, then at the head of the foreign department, called on Roland, in company with Brissot, to announce that the King had chosen him minister of the interior; he at the same time assured his new colleague of the sincere intentions on the part of his Majesty, to support the constitution, and hoped that the political machine would
move

move with uniformity, as but one opinion would thenceforth prevail in the cabinet.

The succeeding morning was the time fixed for presenting the new minister, after which he was to take the oaths, and his seat at the council board. It was usual on those occasions to repair thither in what was termed a *court dress*; but this did not suit the simple manners of the philosopher to whom the home department was now entrusted. On the contrary, he went to the palace, arrayed as usual, with a few thin silvery hairs, simply combed down his venerable head, a round hat, a plain brown coat, and his shoes tied with black ribands*. No sooner did the courtiers receive intimation of this event, and beheld a philosopher disdaining to subject himself to their miserable *etiquette*, than they surveyed him with a certain degree of horror, and complained of the scandal likely to ensue from his conduct †.

* When Dr. Franklin had a conference with Louis XVI. he could not be prevailed upon to alter any part of his dress.

† “ Ces valets de la cour, qui attachoient la plus grande importance à l'étiquette dont ils tenoient leur existence, le considèrent avec scandale et même une sorte d'effroi; l'un d'eux s'approche de Dumouriez en fronçant le sourcil, et lui dit à l'oreille, en montrant des yeux l'objet de sa consternation :

——“ Monsieur! point de boucles à ses souliers! ——”

“ Dumouriez, prête à la repartie, et se revêtant d'un sérieux comique s'écrie.

——“ Monsieur! tout est perdu!”

“ Le valet courut bientôt et fit rire ceux qui en avoient le moins envie.”

Louis,

Louis, who had now admitted the patriots into the administration of publick affairs, endeavoured to gain their confidence, and he succeeded so effectually during the first three weeks, that they were enchanted with his conduct, and actually began to felicitate themselves on having mistaken his character. His Majesty, however, did not seem disposed to proceed to business, and employed the time spent at the council table in joking with Dumouriez, asking questions respecting commerce and manufactures from Roland, and in reading the French gazettes, or the English journals.

Whenever the new ministers wished to decide relative to the conduct of the Austrians, he carefully eluded the discussion, but at the same time manifested the most marked repugnance to hostilities.

At length the menacing attitude assumed by the court of Vienna produced a crisis. Servan, the minister at war, proposed to the assembly the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men, under the walls of Paris. This scheme was adopted with enthusiasm, as was also another for repressing the refractory clergy, who wished to stir up a spirit of fanaticism among the people.

All the six ministers supported these two decrees, as absolutely necessary in the then posture of affairs; but the court, which had schemed the return of the ancient despotism, by means of partial revolts on one hand, and a secret communication with the foreign enemy on the other, became excessively alarmed on
hearing

hearing of measures so admirably calculated to frustrate all their plans.

The King had determined to refuse his sanction, but he did not wish to give a direct negative, and therefore delayed to signify his resolution, in order to gain time, and form a new ministry. To enable him to accomplish this, the Queen sent for Dumouriez, and had several conferences with that crafty general, who had become tired of colleagues who were too austere in their manners to be agreeable to him, and too well acquainted with the world, to be imposed upon by his intrigues. They did not approve of the appointment of Bonne-Carrère, for whom he had procured the cross of St. Louis, and had nominated director-general of foreign affairs, because they considered him as a mere *intriguer*, equally destitute of talents and character. Roland also, had reproached the minister himself with his conduct, as he had discovered that one hundred thousand livres were lodged at a notary's, by way of payment for a publick office, which money was to be shared between his confidential secretary and his mistress Madame Beauvert.

No sooner did the minister at the head of the foreign department find himself detected, and perceive at the same time that the greater part of the other ministers were disagreeable to the King, than he determined to procure their dismissal, and proceed to a new nomination. Roland, on the other hand, being resolved to come to an immediate explanation with his Majesty, and either prevail upon him to as-

sent

sent to the two decrees, or, in the event of a refusal, give in his own resignation, determined to transmit his sentiments on this subject. Accordingly, when the King requested the written opinions of all the members of the council, Roland seized that opportunity of conveying the famous letter * to the Executive; a performance written with a boldness to which Louis had been unaccustomed, and evidently composed in the confidence that the Prince was unfriendly to the constitution he had sworn to maintain:

“ Sire,

“ The present state of affairs in France cannot be of long duration. It is a crisis at its highest degree of violence, and must terminate in a shock that interests your Majesty as much as it does the whole empire. Honoured with your confidence, and placed in a situation in which it behoves me to speak the truth to you, I venture to do it without disguise; it

* Madame Roland appears to have held the pen on this occasion:

“ Je fis la fameuse lettre, &c.

“ Je reviens à la lettre, qui fut tracée d'un trait, comme à-peu-près tout ce que je faisois de ce genre; car sentir la nécessité, la convenance d'une chose, concevoir son bon effet, désirer de le produire, et jeter au moule l'objet dont cet effet devoit résulter, n'étoit pour moi qu'une même opération. Il étoit pris dans le cabinet de mon mari, ce *Pacte*, qui dans la même année, fit calomnier Roland, et nous fait poursuivre aujourd'hui comme ennemis de la liberté. Lorsque nous lûmes cette lettre entre nous: “ C'est une démarche bien hardie!” “ Disoit alors cet hypocrite que je prenois pour un sage.—Hardie! sans doute; mais elle est juste et nécessaire; qu'importe le reste?”

is indeed an obligation under which your Majesty yourself has laid me.

“ The French have given themselves a constitution, and it has produced malecontents and rebels.— The majority of the nation approve of and have sworn to maintain it at the expence of their lives.

“ They have considered the war with satisfaction, as the grand expedient for establishing the constitution; yet, buoyed up by hopes, the minority have exerted their united efforts against it. Hence arises that intestine conflict with the laws, that anarchy which all good citizens lament, and of which ill-disposed people have not failed to take the advantage, in order to countenance their aspersions against the new government.

“ Hence those opinions which are every where spread abroad, and every where fomented; for in no part is indifference of opinion to be found. The triumph or the change of the constitution is the cry of all; they labour either to maintain or to new-model it. I shall only touch upon what the present circumstances of things require, and with the utmost impartiality suggest an idea of the turn affairs may be expected to take, and what measures would be prudent to adopt.

“ You enjoyed, Sire, great prerogatives, and which, indeed, your Majesty conceived to be inherent to royalty. Bred up under the idea of preserving those prerogatives, you could not see yourself deprived of them with satisfaction. The desire of recovering them was as natural as the regret you felt

at their dissolution. These sentiments, which are natural to the human heart, have had their proper influence on the minds of the anti-revolutionists.

“ They have, accordingly, depended upon being secretly favoured by your Majesty, until circumstances permitted an open declaration in their behalf. This posture of things could not but have been evident to the whole nation; and it was sufficient to put men upon their guard. Your Majesty has then been always under the necessity, of either yielding to the force of habit and private inclination, or of making sacrifices dictated by philosophy, and called for by necessity.

“ Every thing has its term of duration, and that of uncertainty has at length arrived. Can your Majesty openly ally yourself with the pretended reformers of the constitution? or is it incumbent upon you generously to give yourself entirely up to promote its triumph? Such is the true statement of a question, the solution of which the present state of things renders of inevitable necessity.

“ As to the metaphysical query, ‘ Whether the French are ripe for liberty?’ it is foreign to the subject before us: for it is not our business to consider what we should become in a century hence, but to see what the present generation are capable of.

“ In the midst of the fermentations of the four last years, what has taken place? Privileges burdensome to the lower orders of the community have been abolished; the ideas of justice and equality have been universally spread abroad; they have found their way

every where. The acknowledgement of the rights of the people, which has been solemnly allowed, is become a sacred doctrine in politicks.

“ The hatred against the nobles had been long since inspired by the nature of the feudal system ; it is now increased and exasperated by their manifest opposition to the constitution. The people considered these nobles in an odious light, on account of the oppressive privileges they enjoyed ; but they would have forgot their hatred on the abolition of those privileges, if the conduct of the nobility since that period had not afforded every reason to consider their rank with disgust, and to oppose it as an irreconcilable enemy to their well-being.

“ The publick attachment to the constitution increased in like proportion : the people not only derived essential advantages from it, but were persuaded still greater benefits were preparing, since those who were accustomed to oppress them were endeavouring with such earnestness to destroy or to modify it.

“ The declaration of rights is become a political gospel, and the French constitution a religion ; in the defence of which the people are ready to perish. Thus their zeal sometimes went so far as to supply the place of law ; and when its influence was not sufficient to restrain the disturbers of the publick peace, the citizens took upon themselves the task of punishing them.

“ It is thus the possessions of the emigrants have been exposed to the ravages incited by vengeance.—

Thus so many departments were under the necessity of adopting severe measures in respect to the clergy whom the publick opinion had proscribed, and of whom some would otherwise have been victims to its resentment.

“ In the collision of interests, every sentiment assumed the tone of passion. Our country is not a mere word, created by the warmth of imagination; it is a being to which we offer sacrifice; to which we are the more attached by the very solicitude it brings upon us; which we love on account of the benefits we hope to derive from it; and every injury offered to our native land proves the means of increasing our enthusiasm.

“ To what a height did this enthusiasm rise, when the machinations of foreign enemies were added to those of the domestick foe, in order to perpetrate all that could be conceived wicked and fatal? The fermentation is extreme in various parts of the empire; it will burst upon us with a dreadful explosion, unless it be calmed by reasonable confidence in your Majesty’s intentions: but this confidence will not be established by mere promises and protestations, it can only rest upon facts.

“ The French nation know that their constitution can sustain itself, and government will have all necessary aid, whenever your Majesty, wishing well to the constitution, shall support the legislative body, by causing their decrees to be executed, and thus do away every pretext for popular discontent, and every hope of the disaffected.

“ For instance, two important decrees have been issued; both essentially concern public tranquillity and the welfare of the empire: their not being sanctioned gives birth to mistrust; if this be put off, it will create malecontents; and it is my duty to say, in the present effervescence of the people’s minds, discontent may lead to any thing. It is no longer time to recede; it is no longer time to temporize. The revolution is established in the publick mind; it will be completed by the effusion of blood, if wisdom does not guard against evils which can yet be warded off.

“ If force were resorted to in order to restrain the National Assembly—if terrour were spread through Paris, and disunion and consternation in its vicinity—France would rise with indignation; and, distracted by the horrors of a civil war, she would display that gloomy energy, the parent of virtues and crimes, but ever fatal to those who provoke it.

“ Publick safety and your Majesty’s individual happiness are closely linked together; no power can divide them; distresses and misfortunes will gather round your throne, if it do not rest on the basis of the constitution, and be established on that peace, which the maintenance of it will at length produce in our favour.

“ Thus the state of the publick mind, the circumstances of the times, political reasons, your Majesty’s own interest, render it indispensable for you to join the legislative body, and to concur in the nation’s will. The nation considers as a necessity what principles

ciples point out as a duty; but the natural sensibility of this fond people holds out another motive. You were cruelly deceived, Sire, when wicked men endeavoured to excite uneasiness and mistrust in your breast, injurious to this kind people—this people so easily affected.

“ By being perpetually taught not to confide in the nation, your own conduct alarmed them. Let the people see that you are willing the constitution should take its course—the constitution to which they have united their happiness, and you will soon become the object of thanks.

“ The conduct of the clergy in many parts of the kingdom, and the pretext they furnish for commotions, have occasioned a wise law to be enacted against those disturbers of the peace. Let your Majesty’s sanction be given to it. The publick tranquillity and the safety of the clergy solicit it. If this law be not put in force, the departments will be obliged to substitute severe measures, as they have every where done, and the people will supply its place by violence.

“ The attempts of our enemies, the fermentations in the capital, the extreme disquietude arising from the conduct of your guard, and which the testimonies of satisfaction given to that body, contained in your proclamation (a measure truly impolitick under such circumstances) still keep up; the situation of Paris; its proximity to the frontiers,—all contribute to shew the necessity of a camp in its neighbourhood. This measure, the wisdom and urgency of which are al-

lowed by thinking men, waits only for the sanction of your Majesty.

“ Why should delay create an appearance of regret on the part of your Majesty, when dispatch would deserve gratitude on ours? Already have the machinations of the Staff of the Parisian national guards against this measure, caused men to suspect that they act under superiour influence—already the clamours of certain outrageous demagogues raise suspicion; already the public opinion exposes the intentions of your Majesty.

“ A little more delay, and the afflicted people will imagine they perceive in their King the friend and the accomplice of conspirators.—Good heaven! are the powers of the earth stricken with blindness! and will they never attend to any counsels, but such as lead them on to ruin!

“ I am aware that the language of truth is seldom well received in courts; I am likewise sensible, that as her voice is hardly ever heard there, revolutions consequently ensue.

“ Above all, I know that I ought to speak the truth to your Majesty, not only as a citizen, subject to the laws, but as a minister honoured with your confidence, or invested with functions that imply it; nor do I know what can hinder me from fulfilling a duty which I feel to be incumbent on me! With the same intentions I shall reiterate my observations to your Majesty on the utility and necessity of enforcing the law, which prescribes that there should be a secretary of the council. This law speaks so power-

powerfully that the execution of it should immediately follow.

“In short, it is necessary, for the sake of responsible ministers, to use means to establish sedateness, wisdom, and caution, in the deliberations of the council.”

Next morning the King turned his back on Servan, who happened to wait on him about some official matters; and Dumouriez instantly demanded the *port folio* of the Minister of War, in his Majesty's name. A few hours after, Duranthon, the Minister of Justice, who had consented to resign, along with his colleagues, was sent for to the castle, and returned with two letters, signifying the dismissal of Clavieres and Roland.

No sooner had the Minister of the Home Department received this intimation, than he instantly communicated it to the Assembly, and at the same time transmitted a copy of the letter he had sent on the preceding evening to the King. When the President communicated these papers, the deputies, as if actuated by one common soul, unanimously voted, that the Minister of the Interior had “retired with the thanks and gratitude of his country.”

Trifling as this may appear at the present moment, certain it is that the event had a prodigious effect on the public mind, by tending to disclose the intentions of the Court, and rendering the subsequent conduct of the King suspicious.

From that moment the royalists and the republicans may be fairly said to have entered the lists, in order

order to decide whether France was henceforth to become a monarchy or a commonwealth.

With a view to multiply his adherents, the King expended immense sums of money, gave away some thousands of crosses of St. Louis, attempted to corrupt several of the popular leaders, and actually paid and retained his body guards, after they had been disbanded by the legislature.

At length, on the 10th of August, the palace was assailed and taken, nearly the whole of the garrison was cut in pieces, and the King and royal family were made prisoners. Roland, Clavieres, and Servan, the ministers who wished to have prevented this catastrophe, but whose opinions had ensured their disgrace, were instantly recalled, and three new ones added, Danton having been appointed to the department of justice, Le Brun to that of foreign affairs, and Monge to the marine*.

The

* On this occasion, Roland and Dumouriez once more became, in some measure, colleagues; but the following letter, from the former to the latter, fully demonstrates, that the minister had not forgotten his former conduct.

“ Political changes seem to be as various as those of war.— I am once more in the council; you are at the head of the armies. It is your duty to efface the wrongs of your administration, and to fulfil the destiny that leads to your glory!

“ You were drawn into an intrigue, intended to prove prejudicial to your colleagues, and in your turn were tricked by that court, with which you wished to be on good terms.

“ But you somewhat resemble those ancient chevaliers, who, at times, make little mistakes, which they themselves are the first to laugh

The Minister of the Home Department instantly recommenced his labours, and as it was deemed necessary to infuse a greater portion of spirit into the more distant departments, the legislative assembly voted one hundred thousand livres for that purpose. With this view he employed Louvet to publish the *Sentinelle*; he transmitted the best of the patriotick journals to the popular societies *gratis*, and also sent writings in favour of liberty to the *curés* or constitutional rectors of the different parishes, and such zealous citizens as appeared to have the good of their country at heart. Out of the sum granted, thirty-four thousand livres only were expended.

At length a few sanguinary men dipped their hands in the blood of the clergy and aristocracy, and many members of both were deliberately murdered in the prisons, after a mock trial. Roland, and the

laugh at, and yet, notwithstanding this, display great gallantry when the point of honour is in question.

“ It must be confessed, if this character does not altogether accord with republican austerity, that it proceeds from those manners which we have not as yet got rid of, and for which we ought to pardon you, if you only procure us a few victories.

“ While a member of the council, you will always find me ready to second your enterprises, so long as they shall have the publick good for their object; I am deaf to all private considerations when that comes in question, and I will cherish you as one of the defenders of my country, if you devote yourself sincerely to its service.”

This letter was transmitted to Dumouriez when he went to the frontiers, in order to combat at the head of that army, which so opportunely repulsed the Prussians and Austrians.

deputies

deputies of the *Gironde*, equally shocked at the injustice and the impolicy of these proceedings, complained aloud, and endeavoured to bring those concerned in the September massacres to condign punishment.

On this point all good men appear to have agreed; but there was another on which there existed a fatal difference of opinion: this was the punishment of the King. There seems to have been no doubt, on the minds of any of the deputies, as to the question of *guilt*, and the iron chest, which a blacksmith * of Versailles had discovered to the Minister of the Home Department, disclosed a correspondence that appeared to ascertain the fact. It was merely on the *policy* † of the measure, then, that the dispute arose, for the *Gironde* were too well informed not to perceive that the execution of Louis, and a war with England, would naturally follow each other.

Roland wished to avoid the evils that ensued, and on this very account became unpopular. His house, formerly revered as if it had been the sanctuary of the Divinity, was now treated with outrage; his person and that of his wife were threatened with every indignity, and the lives of both were frequently in the most imminent danger ‡.

* Gamin. † “ Certes! Roland abhorroit la tyrannie, et croit Louis coupable; mais il vouloit assurer la liberté et il la cru perdue dès que les mauvaises têtes eurent pris l'ascendant.”

Mad. Roland.

‡ They were twice prevailed upon by their friends to sleep from home, but resolved not to comply with any future solicitations of the same kind. Madame Roland had always pistols under her pillow, in order to prevent violation, by means of a voluntary death!

On this occasion the populace were inflamed to vengeance, by means of the most diabolical arts. Roland was at one time represented as being a royalist at another, he was connected with the commotions of La Vendée, which now began to assume a terrifying aspect, and it was even said, that he was in league with the Duke of Brunswick. It was also industriously circulated, that he was an *ex-noble*, and longed for the return of the ancient government !

Collet d'Herbois, who wished for the management of the home department, and considered the minister as his rival, stirred up the Jacobins against him, while Hébert, the substitute of the commune of Paris, in his paper called *Pere Duchesne*, published daily libels with a view to encrease the odium.

The Mountain party at length determined to crush their enemies with a single blow. Accordingly, on the 31st of May, having filled all the municipal offices with their own creatures, they procured the mayor of Paris to present a petition, demanding the heads of the *Girondists*. The assembly at first testified its indignation at so horrid a proposition, but it was menaced by an armed force, and the sanctuary of the laws was violated by the vilest of the populace. Amar, the deputy, was base enough to bring in a report against his own colleagues, founded on the weakest and most ridiculous suspicions, and the Minister of the Home Department was implicated

* His name, and that of his friend, the deputy Louvet, had been struck out from the list of members a little before this.

along with nearly all the able, good, and virtuous men, in the commonwealth. Such a bloody proscription had not been witnessed since the days of Sylla, and neither under the triumvirs, nor the emperours (the heroick ages of Roman cruelty!) did so many illustrious men perish at one time.

Roland, who remained in office so long as he could act with honour, had at length resigned, that his name might not be employed to countenance crimes, the very mention of which struck him with horror. He at the same time delivered in a faithful statement of the publick accounts, and with a scrupulosity that ought to have put the defaulters of the day to the blush, entered into a minute detail of the expences of his office, exhibiting receipts for every *livre* issued during his administration.

In the mean time he found it necessary to leave Paris, and conceal himself, in order to preserve his life. He was instigated to this by Madame Roland, who, trusting to her innocence, and still more perhaps to her sex, remained at home. But she was denounced, and although claimed by her section, and even put under its protection, was arrested, and carried to prison.

At the end of a few days she was set at liberty, under pretext that the necessary forms had not been complied with; but this was only to render her more completely miserable, as she had no sooner put her foot within her own door, than she was once more seized, and conveyed to another jail. It would have been some consolation to have known, that she resided

resided in the same apartment of the *Abbaye* that had contained her friend the deputy Brissot, and the heroine Charlotte Cordet; but she did not learn this circumstance until a little before her death.

No sooner did the murder of the wife reach the ears of the husband, than he also prepared for his fate. Madame Roland, a little before her execution, had prophesied that he would not survive her, and he now fulfilled the too fatal presage.

Having been indebted hitherto for an asylum to a female friend, who had risked her own life in order to preserve his, he determined that she should not be implicated in his fate. He accordingly left her hospitable mansion, and repairing to a spot on the great road leading to Rouen, there gave himself the fatal blow.

Thus died by his own hand, in the sixtieth year of his age, the Nestor of the revolution, the venerable Roland, a man fitted rather for the republics of Greece and Rome, in their purest days, than for any of the degenerate governments of modern times. To unite considerable talents with great virtues, natural endowments with acquired knowledge, republican sentiments with amiable manners, austere morals with a heart full of sensibility, a cruel death with a spotless life; — such were the fate and character of this virtuous minister. Perhaps none of the parties, whether royal, aristocratical, or republican, that appeared during the whole course of the revolution, have produced a purer character; and there is no country in Europe but might have gloried in giving birth to such an enlightened, illustrious, and disinterested citizen.

PAYAN.

Although Payan could not be considered as a chief among the revolutionists of his time, yet the kind of station he filled required *picked men*, and such as were not likely to flinch in the hour of danger. He performed, during a whole year, the abominable function of president to one of the revolutionary tribunals of Paris, and was only removed from it to occupy the place of national agent to the commune, or, in other words, to be Robespierre's agent in the city.

The affair of the *blonde perruque*, which like Banquo's ghost made the French Macbeth's hair stand on end, deserves to be mentioned, as it shows to what miserable expedients men are driven who have deviated from justice, to prolong their surreptitious authority.

On the day consecrated to the Supreme Being, the mistress of one of the decemvirs showed her head at the balcony window of the committee room, adorned with these artificial tresses. Another lady, of the same quality, the *chere amie* of Barrere, who had also placed herself at the window for the convenience of seeing the procession, was flushed with envy on observing that every eye was attracted by her rival. Women fight with gentler weapons than men: the rival head, therefore, was not to be devoted to the guillotine but the *cheveux postiches*, the alluring peruke was to be denounced. Accordingly Payan had instructions to avenge the affront, and to check
the

the extravagancies of dress in the *muscadines* of Paris. He next day made a speech at the commune against *blonde perruques*, representing them as being made from the hair of the persons guillotined, prepared in an especial manner for the purpose; of course the wearing them was voted counter-revolutionary.

Payan was from *Pol-les-fontaines*, in the ci-devant *Pays d'Orange*, and was a means of establishing a revolutionary tribunal in the capital of that county, where Fauvetty boasted that in eighteen days they had completed one hundred and ninety-seven trials, or in words almost synonymous, pronounced one hundred and ninety-seven condemnations.

The greffier (secretary) of the tribunal, the magistrates of which were off-sets from the grand trunk in the metropolis, wrote to his patrons, that "such was the situation of Orange, that they had placed the holy guillotine so as that the heads which fell under its axe might bow homage to the *Mountain*." This was called, by the unthinking revolutionists of the moment, *une allegorie precieuse*!

The 9th Thermidor was the day which linked Payan's fate to that of Robespierre, for it seems Lochesis entwined three threads in one. He was not insensible of his danger, but he did not suffer his apprehension to get the better of his faculties, like some others in the same situation. He was vigilant, and courageous; he obtained the *arreté* of the commune for beating the *generale*, and sounding the tocsin, although an existing law made it death to do so, unless by order of the legislature. It was at his

instance that Henriot was required to assemble the armed force, and to send to the newly formed *committee of execution* musquets, pistols, and ammunition. Above all, he obtained the following *arreté* : “ The council general orders that the commandant general of the armed force of Paris shall direct the people to act against the conspirators who oppress the patriots, and that he shall deliver the Convention from the oppression of the counter-revolutionists.” He also wrote this notice to all the gaol-keepers of Paris : “ We enjoin you, citizen, upon your responsibility, to receive no prisoners, nor to give liberty to any one, except by the orders of the administration of the police.” It was these prompt movements of Payan that rescued Robespierre and his colleagues from prison, by sending commissioners, with a party of *gens d’armes*, to the different places of detention.

Such efforts, had they not been directed against the genius of liberty, would have succeeded; but they were, according to the new vocabulary, *liberticide*, and they speedily produced the cry of *vive la convention* under the very windows of the town-hall. Upon hearing that sound, he exhibited the first outward demonstration of fear; he trembled; he was overpowered soon after, and was executed with his party the next day, the 28th of July, 1794, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.

COFFINHAL,

Another president of a revolutionary tribunal in Paris. As these tribunals were the produce of political rankness, they grew and spread surprisingly; so that from one root several branches were taken, which equally produced bitter and deadly fruits.

Coffinhal was appointed a judge in one of these sectional courts, among which there appeared to be an emulation which could run over justice the fastest.

He had been first a physician, then an attorney, and went through all the ascending revolutionary gradations of his section before he was appointed to decide on life and death.

There is but little to distinguish these revolutionary judges from each other, *ab uno disce omnes*, except that Coffinhal was denominated the *facetious judge*. He would play off his miserable jokes on the poor victims as they were going from the bar, or rather the *sellette* to the scaffold. At one time, he would insult them by saying he could discover conspiracy in their very silence; at another, if they shewed an eagerness to speak in their defence he would cut their words short by calling out "*tu n'a pas la parole*," *i. e.* you have no right, or it is not your turn to speak. Sometimes he would wound the accused by a brutal pun or sarcasm; an instance of which occurred in the presence of the writer. One out of six or eight accused persons on their

trials evinced considerable presence of mind, saying, more than once, "I can parry this part of the accusation and parry that." Coffinhal took him up abruptly, and asked him what business or trade he was of: "I am a fencing-master," replied he: then rejoined the judge "I am going to pass sentence of death upon you, *parry that stroke (botte) if you can!*"

Upon the triumph of the convention over Robespierre, on the ever memorable 9th of Thermidor, Coffinhal was not immediately taken with his coadjutors, but under favour of the night slipped out of the Maison de Ville and contrived to conceal himself two days and two nights on the *isle de Cigne*, in the river, where he was exposed uncovered to torrents of rain and in danger every minute of being carried away by the rapidity of the flood. Ready to expire with hunger, he resolved to try to reach the river's bank with a piece of floating timber which he had stopped in its course. He effected a landing in a most wretched plight, and made to the house of an old friend who owed him five-and-twenty louis. Instead, however, of his debtor paying him the money, he locked the villain in his house, and went to the first justice of peace to inform against him. As he had been out-lawed by the convention, it only remained to identify his person before execution should take place. He was however conducted to the Conciergerie, and then it was he told the goaler that the fatigues and horrors he had endured for 16 hours in the island, by buffeting the

waves

waves to avoid being washed away, made the death he was going to suffer a pleasure in comparison. On his way to the scaffold some persons in the crowd mocked him, by saying, *He bien Coffinhal; que dis tu de cette botte la? Pare cette la**. He said nothing; upon which they added, *tu n'a pas la parole †*. He looked to the right and left every now and then with an affected air of courage, shrugging up his shoulders. When he arrived at the place of execution he lost, as it were, the use of his limbs, probably from cold and weakness.

P. André Coffinhal was born at Auvernac, and was but in his 31st year when he suffered, which was on the 15th of August, 1794. It was fortunate for humanity that he lived no longer!

DUMAS.

This grand executor of the terrible law of the 22d of Prairial, was born at *Lons le Saulnier*, in the Department of Jura, on the 6th of February, 1754.

The Committee of *Salut Public* must have been satisfied with the obsequiousness of those who executed the laws, ere they ventured to propose and obtain the passing of the one alluded to, which absolutely gave to that formidable Committee, the power of singling out by accusation any members of the convention they thought proper. The authority of Appius and his colleagues, was nothing in

* Well, Coffinhal, what sayest thou to this stroke? Canst thou parry it?

† It is not thy turn to speak.

comparison with that of these modern Decemviri.—Such power will ever be too odious to last long among rational creatures !

DUMAS was president of the revolutionary tribunal, when this murderous law was enacted by the astounded convention. This man's education had been carefully attended to, but he was savage and unrelenting by disposition, and not by fanaticism or enthusiasm. He did not, like Nero, wear an artificial virtue, but undisguisedly displayed the propensities of his heart, which impelled him to acts of cruelty. He was at one and the same time, the spy of Robespierre among his colleagues—the informer to the committees of government—the accuser of the obnoxious to the jacobins, and the merciless judge at the tribunals.

He proposed at the jacobins to enlarge the hall of the tribunal, by laying it open to a contiguous chamber, so as to try two or three hundred prisoners at a time ; but upon its being observed, that such a sight might become disgusting to the people, he said, “ *Very well then, let us have a guillotine in every prison to execute the condemned by night.*” This proposal would doubtless have been carried into execution, but for the happy event of the 9th Thermidor.

This wretch had scarcely signed the warrant for the execution of sixty unhappy prisoners, when he was arrested ; shocking, however, to tell, they all suffered, the confusion being at the moment too great in the legislature to watch, or even to think of the move.

movement of the guillotine. Dumas was so ignorant of what was passing in the convention, that he thought it was Robespierre who had ordered his arrest; he was conscious the tyrant had such written vouchers in his possession against him, as would serve so capricious a master to dispose of him whenever he should think proper: No doubt, Robespierre meant to make use of them at a proper time. When arrested, he was carried to the prison of *St. Pelagie*, and thence released by a message from the rebellious commune, where he was instantly fixed upon as the person to organize the new commission. What tremendous effects must have followed this new *executive commission*, had it been once put in a state of activity!

When the commune was besieged by the conventionalists, Dumas fled and hid himself six hours, but he was discovered, and his person was carried to the same tribunal for identification and condemnation, where, but the day before, he had sat as supreme judge!! A lesson for the Jefferieses of all countries!

In his way to the bench, he had for many months excited dread and horror in every beholder—on his way to the scaffold, the sentiments manifested by the spectators, were those of detestation and vengeance.

He was turned of forty years of age, of a middle stature, of a ferocious aspect, and reserved manners.

It is worthy of remark, that Dumas signed the greater part of the first issue of assignats, till there
was

was not time to compleat them so fast as they were wanted: they were then wholly printed. He and Carnot are said to have invented the *Serie* or numerical characters on the borders of these national notes, which, in the throwing off from the press were perpetually changed, so that no two assignats ever had the same numbers: and this was done without retarding the work of printing an instant, which, it must be allowed, was a discovery of considerable ingenuity.

GENERAL CUSTINE.

This brave but unfortunate general was one of the few individuals in France who, at the commencement of the war, deserved the name of a military chief, and next to La Fayette and Dumourier was the most conspicuous character in the first campaign against the Austrians and Prussians. He was a nobleman, and from his earliest youth bred to arms. He had served in the war of seven years and in the American war, and at the period of the revolution was colonel of a regiment of infantry. He had also the reputation of a learned man, and by common report, was said to have furnished some interesting articles upon *Tactics* for the great *Encyclopedie*.

Custine was a deputy in the constituent assembly, but was far from acting the important part in that body to which his talents gave him title. And if his name had not been inscribed in the list of the deputies,

ties, and so recorded in the transactions of the legislature, it might be made a question whether he had ever been present at any of the sittings.

Early in the year 1792, Custine served in the capacity of colonel under Marshal de Rochambeau and La Fayette in Flanders, and when towards the close of the year Dumourier was invested with the command of the whole army, Custine was appointed a general of the division which was to effect the subjugation of the ecclesiastical electorates.

This was the æra in Custine's life which discovered his true character and genius. He was ordered to summon Mentz, which at that time was garrisoned by the troops of the Empire. He sent to the German commander an uncivil and imperious summons, purporting that the place must surrender directly, and that he should wait only a few hours for an answer. When an answer was returned purporting that according to the laws of war the garrison ought to be permitted to make a defence, Custine, more violent than before, replied, "*No evasions; you have to deal with republicans commanded by an old soldier—reply, reply!*"

About the same period he wrote an excentric letter to the Landgrave of Hesse, threatening him with extermination if he did not immediately withdraw his troops: he concluded with the phrase—" *Thou shalt no longer be a dealer in human blood,*" alluding to the well known contracts made by the Landgrave and his ancestors, for supplying men to powers at war

war at settled rates for the killed, mutilated or wounded!

In consequence of this menace the important fortress of Mentz actually surrendered. It is but justice to Custine to say, that afterwards in the command of that place he displayed great military talents and activity, as well as a very high republican spirit. He established the patriotic society of *Les amis de la liberté Germanique*, the first political club ever attempted on the Continent, beyond the limits of old France. In repairing the ancient and in erecting new fortifications he exhibited many master pieces of the art, especially in the Fauxbourg of Cassel. He became indeed so confident of the impossibility of a successful attack, that he wrote more than once to the National Convention—"That Mentz would prove the grave of the Germans." This anticipation was however just; for the late king of Prussia, during the winter of 1793, attempted seven times to take Mentz, but was repulsed with the aggregate loss of at least fifty thousand men the flower of his troops. It was not surprising that this monarch should afterwards claim from the Diet of Ratisbon, and from the Princes of the Empire, indemnification for the losses he had suffered in this unfortunate, though finally successful, siege of Mentz.

If, however, Custine covered himself with everlasting laurels by his gallant defence of the bulwark of the Rhine, it is no less true, that flushed with his fortune he at the same time committed in his poli-

poli-

political conduct some gross mistakes which proved ultimately fatal to his reputation and life. It is a fact established in other places of this work, that after the King's death and before the proscription of the Girondins, from the 21st January to the 31st May 1793, the two leading parties in the convention were solely occupied in a struggle for the exclusive exercise of the sovereign authority. The Girondins, satisfied with the share of power they possessed, did not wish for any change; whereas the Mountaineers, led on by the incendiary Marat, discharged on them the most violent calumnies, and accused them of a scheme to protract the formation of the republican constitution, that they might plunge the people into anarchy, and lead them back to loyalty. Marat, in his abominable journal, *L'ami du Peuple*, stated that the Girondine faction was connected with the military men in command, who, belonging to the order of the nobility, had no other view than the overthrow of the popular government, and the installment of the House of Orleans on the throne of France. Custine gave some colour to this charge by imprudently writing several letters to the convention and to the executive council in Paris, and stating that he thought it necessary for the safety of the republic that a dictator should be immediately proclaimed. This was more than sufficient for him to incur the hatred of the *san-culottes*, and to throw upon him the suspicion of being at once a Royalist and an Orleanist.

After the defection of Dumourier, and the death of Dampierre his successor, the French soldiers, sensible of their weight in the scale of public affairs, acted like the ancient pretorian guards of the Roman Emperors, they appointed among themselves their new commander, and their choice fell on Custine, who was the most eminent military character at that time before the public. The convention and the executive council highly approved of the choice of the army, and Custine was preferred from the command of Mentz to that of the army of the North.

In this eminent station, he acted in perfect opposition to his natural character, which was noted for its promptness and violence. This change was the more conspicuous, as his predecessor Dampierre had, in a few days, collected and re-organized the remnants of the army scattered by the defection of Dumourier, and fought the Prince of Coburg in several obstinate engagements.—It was a shameful supineness in Custine, that from April to June 1793, he made not the least movement in his army, while the Austrians and English were taking energetic and successful measures against Valenciennes and Conde, Lille and Dunkirk.

As might be expected, Custine was superseded, arrested, and sent before the revolutionary tribunal in Paris. Besides the two accusations, that he had demanded the appointment of a dictator, and had been inactive in the command of the army, three more were added : 1st, That he had neglected the
necessary

necessary supply of Mentz, and disabled his successor from defending that important fortress against the Prussians : 2d, That he had ordered some officers to be shot in the same place, for remonstrating against the want of provisions, and on the consequent danger of the fortress : 3d, That he had betrayed so much contempt for the national representation and the executive council, as to have systematically torn the bulletins of the laws to light his pipe, or make *papillotes* for his hair !

The trial of Custine was attended by some incidents worthy of record. As he was the first general of an army who had been seized in the midst of his troops, so he was the first that was juridically tried by the sanguinary revolutionary tribunal ; and as the Parisian magistrates had not yet been reduced to a gang of savages and assassins by their bloody leaders Marat and Robespierre, to the honour of the judges, on Custine's trial, they paid the greatest respect to the rights of a free citizen, and to the rank of the culprit. They sat forty-eight hours, and barely indulged in the necessary refreshment of eating and sleeping. The death of the general was likewise attended with singular circumstances ; it was matter of universal astonishment, that he went to the scaffold with a prayer-book in his hands, resigned as a true christian, and with perfect respect for the magistracy and the people. This behaviour was, however, despised and ridiculed at a time when little respect was paid to religious opinions, and the seeds of deism and

atheism were rapidly spreading among the people : It was said that Custine had, in his last moments, “ *degraded his manly character ;*” and the royalists observed, that “ *he had lived like a rogue, and died like a capuchin.*”

He was guillotined in the beginning of August 1793 ; was upwards of sixty years of age, tall in stature, of a rough and martial aspect, and remarkable for his black unpowdered hair, which he always wore curled up in paper.

LEONARD BOURDON,

Like Albitte, Bazire, &c. was one of those young advocates who, at the commencement of the revolution, found it easy to distinguish themselves by vehement vociferations in the popular societies.— He was a native of Orleans, and if we give credit to common report, his greatest merit in being appointed a deputy to the national convention, was ~~the~~ having co-operated in the murder of some illustrious prisoners, while on their way from Orleans to Versailles in September 1792, among whom were M. de Lessart, and the Duke of la Rochefaucault.

Leonard Bourdon was a jacobin, and a mountaineer, and strongly attached to the party of Robespierre. His conduct, however, was very insignificant in the convention ; except that he was very often sent upon missions to his native department of the *Loiret* and to others. He scarcely deserved the appointment of a secretary to the legislative body, which

which he obtained under the presidency of Robespierre in September 1793.

The name of Leonard Bourdon became conspicuous at the time of the proscription of the remnant of the mountain party, called—" *The tail of Robespierre.*" He was put in a state of arrest on the 12th Germinal, along with Duhem, Chodieu, &c. and was afterwards decreed in a state of accusation on the 1st Prairial, along with Duquenoy, Soubrany, &c. but was at last included in the general amnesty of all those who had been prosecuted for revolutionary crimes.

In the summer of 1795, during the struggles between the national convention and the royalist party, led on by the sections of Paris, Leonard Bourdon, conjointly with Garan-Coulon and other jacobin deputies of the department of Loiret, were declared by the primary assemblies of Orleans to have lost the confidence of the people, and to be unfitted for the next legislature.

Although Bourdon was not in any of the constitutional councils; he nevertheless has been highly serviceable to his country under the constitutional government. Known for his activity, he has been trusted with various important missions. In November 1795, either from the disaffections of the royalists, or the effects of a tumultuous crisis, Paris was almost brought to a state of famine. A violent requisition therefore took place; the neighbouring departments were immediately ransacked to supply Paris with provisions, and the department

of the Seine and Marue alone, was ordered to furnish 200,000 septiers of corn within two Decades. Bourdon was employed to carry this requisition into effect, which he so well executed as to attain the object within a short time, without any inconvenience. He himself was so highly satisfied with his success, that he wrote an ironical letter to the executive directory from Fontainebleau, stating, that *the terrorists alone enjoyed the glory of rendering such signal services to their native country.* And M. de Calonne, always upon the watch respecting the proceedings of the republicans, was so much astonished at the happy result of this measure, that he asserted in his work, *Le Tableau de l'Europe, en 1796*, that the Jacobins were born to effect miracles. *Où est ce que, said this eloquent statesman, l'on pourroit prendre et faire exécuter de telles mesures?*

Subsequent to the peace concluded with Austria, Leonard Bourdon was sent to Hamburg to renew the treaty of friendship between the republic and the senate of that city; and also to negotiate a loan of twelve millions. The public papers took notice of this mission, and stated, that he had actually concluded the loan for four millions. They accused him, however, with having organized jacobin clubs, and in this respect given great offence to the senate, as well as to all friends of the Germanic constitution.

Leonard Bourdon is about forty, of strong constitution, middle size, and extremely active.

FLEURIOT LESCOT.

It is a fact which must strike every one as soon as recollected, that in the commencement of the French revolution nearly all the chief employments of the new state were occupied by foreigners.

Two out of the four mayors of Paris were of this description. At one time the commune of Paris and the society of jacobins were wholly directed by these intermeddlers. On the list of the first twelve generals employed to defend the republic five were foreigners. Whatever were their ultimate designs, however sincere their professions of service might be, they, in the greater part paid extremely dear for their obtrusion. None however appeared so little qualified to enter into the new order of things as Luckner, who could scarcely pronounce ten words of French without betraying the alien. Some of the class alluded to were orators; no wonder therefore that they gained a footing among a people under the influence of inflamed imaginations. Fleuriot Lescot was of this number, though by no means most distinguished; he was the fourth and last mayor of Paris, for the title expired with the sway of Robespierre. We find him the most obsequious of all the tyrant's slaves, even to fawning; and yet, strange to tell, he manifested an uncommon energy at the *Maison de Ville*, when the proximity of danger and probable sudden destruction would have deprived a coward of all presence of mind. He made a highly relished harrangue, suited to the situation of the
factious

factionous members, wherein he called to their mind how much glory the municipality of Paris had acquired on the trying and memorable epochs of the 10th of August and 31st of May; then taking the printed table of the Rights of Man in his hand, he cried out with warmth, according to one of its first articles, "When the government violates the rights of the people, insurrection becomes to them and to any portion of them the most sacred, the most indispensable, of duties." When it was observed that the list on which the members of the council wrote their names had been taken away by design, he said, "No! they shall not steal from us the honour of having concurred to day to the success of liberty over oppression. I propose (added he) that the list be renewed, and that it be deposited in the archives as an attestation of the fidelity of the true friends of liberty and their country." He then subscribed his own name the first thereon. In his office of mayor he had done very little to be noticed, indeed his conduct was dictated on all occasions by the will of those who put him into office: all his energy was therefore reserved for the last and trying occasion. When Robespierre appeared in the commune Fleuriot hailed him as the "*Sauveur de la liberté*," and proposed and took the oath before him *to die in his defence*. A goaler of the *Force Prison* was brought before him for yielding to the order of the committees of government in neglect of that of the municipality, when Fleuriot was about to immolate him to his fury, some one

close

close to him stopped his hand with the uplifted sabre in it, and thereby allowed the frightened wretch time to throw himself on his knees and implore pardon. He treated one of the officers, who brought an order from the convention, with great contempt, and actually committed several others to prison who came on like errands. He ordered those who proclaimed the decree of the convention, within hearing of the commune, to be brought before him, and threatening them with the most horrible punishment; he sent them before the executive commission which Dumas was then organizing. At this instant, the discharge of a pistol was heard in one of the passages of the hall, he ran out to discover what it was, when, returning in a minute after with a pale and altered countenance, he ejaculated "*All is lost!*" His colleagues dispersed in an instant; some attempted to destroy themselves, and were arrested, others fled and secreted themselves for a time, but were at length taken, so that out of 143 obnoxious persons, including all those whose names were inscribed on the fatal list, only seven were saved, two of whom, discovered four days afterwards, were imprisoned with the writer of this anecdote in the Scotch-College: but as the vengeance of the convention had been fully satisfied in the capital punishment of 136 members of the municipality, these few were overlooked for the moment, and about two months afterwards were restored to their families.

Fleuriot was not quite thirty years of age when he suffered death with his rebel cabal on the 28th of

July,

July, 1794, and whether from his dignity of office, as *ex maire* of Paris, or whatever other cause, he was the last of the posse who ascended the scaffold.

GENERAL BIRON.

Armand Louis Biron was the nephew of the famous Marechal Biron, so many years colonel of the French guards, the most honourable military appointment under the ancient *Regime*.

The nephew, early in life, by travelling and reading, collected the seeds of liberty, and they grew in his heart as much as could be expected amidst numerous weeds of prejudice, we will not say of *superstition*; for, except when about to leave *this* world he paid no slavish attention to the reveries of bigots, nor paid much attention to the affairs of the *other*. He was one among the early reformers of France, and deemed a *Fayetteist*. He was considered as one of those precocious blossoms which rather remind us of, than promise us the fruit.

Biron was not only of the privileged class, but almost at the head of the list, and this of itself was enough to expose him to the suspicion of republicans in the moment of a revolution. But he was particularly denounced by the representative on mission in the department where he served as general when the rebellion of the Vendée had broken out, and this denunciation was supported by the unfavourable account *Santerre*, the Paris general, gave of him from observation. The rapid and victorious strides of the
Austrian

Austrian and Prussian forces at the period we are speaking of, afforded colour for suspicions however lightly entertained: and indeed there can be no question but the royalists did all in their power to draw off the chiefs of the common-wealth to their party, or at least to dispose them to a criminal indifference. However this might be, it is a fact known to every one, that, while Westermann, commanding the van guard of his army, was fighting at Chatillon to a great disadvantage against the most expert rebel generals, Biron was lying perfectly inactive before the walls of Niort, at the distance of twenty leagues, with sixteen or seventeen thousand of the choicest troops. This neglect or oversight left Westermann to be surrounded a few days afterwards, and caused him to lose all his infantry and flying artillery, escaping with his cavalry only, and that not without extreme difficulty*.

Biron was superseded in his command of the army of the west, and the coast of Rochelle; and committed to the prison of *St. Pelagie* in Paris. After undergoing a very summary trial before the revolutionary tribunal, on the 30th of December, 1793, he was declared (we do not say found to be) guilty of a conspiracy with the enemies of the republic, and

* *Turreau* in his history of the war of the Vendée affirms, that, during the first five months of its existence, above three hundred pieces of cannon and five hundred ammunition-waggons were *reigned* to the rebels! No wonder therefore the general conducting such a war should be suspected.

guillotined the next day, in the forty-sixth year of his age.

He had served in America, under Rochambeau, with great credit, both with respect to courage and conduct. He was chosen a member of the first (or constituent) assembly.

It is but justice to his private character to say, that although he was not wholly untinctured with many of the follies of a corrupt age he was nevertheless universally beloved, and almost idolized by his family and servants, who never saw him inebriated, or heard him utter an oath. If the last words of this amiable man, on the scaffold, do not entirely clear up the ambiguity of his conduct concerning his supposed tampering with the royal party, they at least shew that he had, at some time or other, seriously served the republic; for, as he bent his neck to the axe, he exclaimed "*I have been a rebel to my God, my order, and my king, but I die full of faith and repentance.*"

LASOURCE.

The saying of Danton, that "the lessons from which all the world will profit must cost us dear," never appears with greater force than when we reflect on the expence of blood at which the republic of France has been purchased. Not only leaders, but the adherents and followers of leaders, have been swallowed up in the dreadful chasms occasioned by the rending to pieces of the ancient order of things.

The

The subject of this article was more revered for his morals than distinguished for his political qualifications ; he is more remembered for the goodness of his heart than for a brilliancy of parts.

David Lasource was chosen one of the members of the convention for the department of Tarn, being a native of what in the ancient geography was called Languedoc. There was in Lasource a warmth of imagination and tenderness of heart which peculiarly qualified him for private friendship ; he was, however, hurried away by the irresistible stream of enthusiasm, and lost in the depths of unfathomable politics. He was bred a protestant minister, and therefore could not have been insensible to the tyranny of the ancient system. His principles, rather than his disposition, led him into public. He admired Guadet, but he loved Brissot and Sillery ; and these *penchants* were sufficient to entail ruin upon him.

Miss Williams, in her sketch of Lasource's character, says " Liberty in his soul was less a principle than a passion, and religion was a habit of the mind ;" she offers a flattering eulogy to his memory, describing his philanthropy as unbounded, and his sensibility acute in an extreme degree. But the conduct of Lasource before his death is the best founded encomium on his life. The nearer he approached to his end, the more fervently he prayed for the immortality of the republic ; the strongest proof that can be urged of his love of it.

Lafource had been married but a week before he was chosen a deputy of the second assembly, and was obliged to repair to the metropolis, leaving his wife to take care of an aged mother in his province. Upon the dissolution of the legislative assembly, in which he had sat, he was elected to the convention, and that prevented him from ever visiting his native home again. His imagination is said to have always foreboded, that the founders of the republic would be victims to the republic; but he had plunged into the tide, and could not stem it. With more experience, he might have escaped from its wild waves. He was — what shall we say — guillotined, or legally assassinated, the 31st of October, 1793, with twenty other Girondine deputies, by the sentence of a court, where it may be said justice was as deaf as she is pictured to be blind.

LAVOISIER.

Although this great man was not an actor in the tumultuous scenes of the revolution, yet, as one of its most illustrious victims, and as one of the school of philosophers who by their labours effected the *moral* revolution of France, his name deserves to be recorded among the founders of the republic. —

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier was born at Paris, August 16, 1743, and received a learned education, which he sedulously improved. When only twenty-three years of age, the Academy of Sciences, April 9, 1766, presented him with a gold medal, for his dissertation on the best mode of enlightening, during
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the night, the streets of a great city. Two years afterwards, he was introduced into that celebrated literary society, to whose service he ever after devoted his labours, and became one of its most useful associates and coadjutors.

His attention was successively occupied with every branch of physical and mathematical science; the pretended conversion of water into earth, the analysis of gypsum in the neighbourhood of Paris, the cristallization of salts, the effects produced by the *grande de loupe* in the garden of the Infanta, the project of bringing water from l'Yvette to Paris, the congelation of water, and the phenomena of thunder and the aurora-borealis.

Journeys undertaken in concert with Guettard into every district of France, enabled him to procure numberless materials towards a description of the lithological and mineralogical empire; these he arranged into a kind of chart which wanted little of being completed. They served also as a ground-work for a more laborious work of his on the revolutions of the globe, and the formation of *Couches de la Terre*; a work of which, two beautiful sketches are to be seen in the memoirs of the French Academy, for 1772 and 1787. All the fortune and all the time of Lavoisier, were devoted to the culture of the sciences; nor did he seem to have a preponderating inclination for any one in particular, until an event, such as seldom occurs in the annals of the human mind, decided his choice, and attached him thenceforth exclusively to chemistry;

—a pursuit which has since rendered his name immortal.

The important discovery of elastic fluids was just announced to the philosophical world. Priestley, Black, Cavendish, and Macbride, had opened to physiologists a sort of new creation; they had commenced a new æra in the annals of genius which was to become equally memorable with those of the compass, printing, electricity, &c.

It was about the year 1770, that Lavoisier, struck with the importance and grandeur of this discovery, turned his attention to this inexhaustible fountain of truths, and instantly perceived, by a kind of instinct, the glorious career which lay before him, and the influence which this new science would necessarily have over the whole train of physical researches. Having once entered into this path, till then unexplored, he instantly became an inventor, dissipated a host of errors and prejudices, and became the founder of a new doctrine, the success of which is more than sufficient to eternize his name and memory. No sooner had the discoveries of Black and Cavendish arrived in France, than Lavoisier directed his whole attention to their experiments, the processes of which he repeated and varied in a variety of ways, so as to establish and enlarge the results of the English philosophers. His great object being to announce new facts, or to illustrate such as were already public, he collated and compared his observations, and reduced them into a complete system of doctrine. Towards the end
of

of 1775, he presented to the Academy his first chemical performance, under the title of *New Experiments relative to the existence of a fixed elastic fluid in certain substances, and to the phenomena which result from its fixation or disengagement.*

Dr. Priestley's publication *on the different species of air* had just made its appearance in London; the vast compass and scope of the doctor's experiments startled at first the friends of Lavoisier, lest his observations should have been in many respects anticipated, and he should thus lose the fruits of his ingenuity and industry. In compliance with the instances of his friends, he accordingly has abridged this work of many of its parts, which may be rather called a syllabus than a complete treatise, and even advances some conclusions which he afterwards contradicted; — an excellent method, however, pervades the whole of it, combined with chastity of experiment, and perspicuity of design. In brief, his processes are described with an exactitude which surpasses every publication of the kind which preceded it; it proposes new methods of operation, changes the very face of chemistry, and operates an entire revolution in the science. Lavoisier appeared to be in chemistry, what Kepler, Newton, and Euler, were in geometry and the mathematics; he changed the modes both of operating and of reasoning, and became the centre of all researches and discoveries, on the subject of elastic fluids, made from 1774 to 1792.

His first production was only a preliminary to the surprising revolution he effected in the science. —

Perceiving that the extensive views he had opened, and the new modes of experiment he had proposed, had excited universal attention, and created an expectation in the public, of deriving, through his means, results still more considerable and unexpected; he employed all his time in pursuing the labours he had undertaken, and in inventing and procuring exact instruments to accomplish his purpose. His house became a grand laboratory, in which nothing was wanting that could throw light on his researches; and his fortune was appropriated to the improvement of his favourite science. He kept in constant employment a number of the most ingenious artists, for the invention and construction of instruments superior to any made use of before, and of new and costly apparatus of every kind, the most accurate and delicate in its execution. No expence was spared by Lavoisier, in the pursuit of his delightful and useful occupation.

To the advantages of fortune, in the application of which to the well-being of the public, few men were so successful as Lavoisier, he united several others, which he made subservient to his views: he held in his house, twice every week, assemblies, to which he invited every literary character that was most celebrated in geometrical, physical, and chemical studies: in these instructive *conversations*, discussions, not unlike such as preceded the first establishment of academies regularly took place. Here the opinions of the most eminent literati in Europe were canvassed; passages the most striking and
novel,

novel, out of foreign writers, were recited and animadverted on; and theories were compared with experiments. Here learned men of all nations found easy admission; Priestley, Fontana, Blagden, Ingenhousz, Landriani, Jacquin, Watt, Bolton, and other illustrious physiologists and chemists of England, Germany, and Italy, found themselves mixed in the same company with Laplace, Lagrange, Borda, Cousin, Meunier, Vandermonde, Monge, Guyton, and Berthollet. Happy hours passed in these learned interviews, wherein no subject was left uninvestigated, that could possibly contribute to the progress of the sciences, and the amelioration and happiness of man. One of the greatest benefits resulting from these assemblages, and the influence of which was soon afterwards felt in the academy itself, and, consequently, in all the physical and chemical works that have been published for the last twenty years in France, was, the agreement established in the methods of reasoning, between the natural philosophers and the geometers. The precision, the severity of style, the philosophical method of the latter, was insensibly transfused into the minds of the former; the philosophers became disciplined in the tactics of the geometers, and were gradually moulded into their resemblance.

In the twenty volumes of the Academy of Sciences, from 1772 to 1793, are forty memoirs of Lavoisier, replete with all the grand phenomena of the science; the doctrine of combustion, general and particular; the nature and analysis of atmospheric air;

air; the formation and fixation of elastic fluids; the properties of the matter of heat; the composition of acids; the augmentation of the ponderosity of burnt bodies; the decomposition and recomposition of water; the dissolution of metals: vegetation, fermentation, and animalization. For more than fifteen years consecutive, Lavoisier pursued, with unshaken constancy, the route he had marked out for himself, without making a single false step, or suffering his ardour to be damped by the numerous and increasing obstacles which constantly beset him.

At length, in 1784, backed by the co-inciding opinions of all the most eminent French chemists, he determined to blend, in a single *tableau*, all the different colourings of truth which he had long before pourtrayed distinctively;—this celebrated elementary treatise did not make its appearance till the year 1789. This last work presents the science in a shape completely novel, and serves more particularly to distinguish the manner of Lavoisier from that of Dr. Priestley: it crowns with immortality the glory of Lavoisier. Although the French and English chemist resembled each other not a little in the numbered multiplicity of their experiments on elastic fluids, yet how different were the respective results which they deduced from them!

Many were the services rendered by Lavoisier, in a public and private capacity, to manufactures, to the sciences, and to artists. His domestic virtues, however, should not be wholly passed by; as a friend, relative, husband, &c. his conduct was exemplary:

in his manners, he was unaffectedly plain and simple. Many young persons, not blessed with the gifts of fortune, but incited by their inclination to woo the sciences, have confessed their obligations to him, for pecuniary aid; many, also, were the unfortunate, whom he relieved in silence, and without even the ostentation of virtue. In the communes of the department of the *Loir & Cher*, where he possessed considerable estates, frequently would he visit the cottages of indigence and distress; long, indeed, will his memory, and that of his amiable spouse, be cherished there! This virtuous man, so dear to his country, to the sciences, and to the world, was at length suddenly hurried into the tomb, as one of the *Farmers-General*, from the pinnacle of public and private happiness, by a set of homicides, who made a sport of sacrificing the lives of the best men, to a sanguinary idol of their own setting-up!—The pen refuses to recite the particulars of this barbarous butchery. —Honoured shade, accept the regrets and the palms which every friend of man bears to thy deserved renown; and may the memory of thy virtues, thy genius, and thy courage, live in the bosoms of good men, when the horrid catastrophies which have blackened the history of thy country shall sink into oblivion!

[This article is partly taken from the beautiful *éloge* of Lalande, and first appeared in the MONTHLY MAGAZINE for January 1797.]

THIEAUDEAU

Is a man of amiable character, gentle manners, and considerable talents; but is supposed to be hostile
to

to the present republican establishment. He was originally an advocate of great consideration, and afterwards became deputy in the convention for the department of La Vienne. Soon after he had voted for the King's death, he appeared to change his principles, and has ever since evinced a disposition for the restoration of royalty. He has also been laudably desirous of ameliorating the fate of the emigrant nobility.

With these dispositions, it is not surprising that he did not make a considerable figure in the convention prior to the year 1795. It is only recorded of him, that in the month of December, 1793, he was elected one of the secretaries during the presidency of Couthon, and that about the same period he became one of the members of the committee of public instruction.

In the latter capacity, he presented the admirable report to the convention on the improvement of the museum of natural history, called, under the monarchy, *le Jardin Royale des Plantes*. To this report is to be attributed the origin of the decrees for the purchase of the adjacent buildings, the aggrandizement of that institution, and the addition of numberless objects. It is undeniable, that the convention achieved more in behalf of this garden than did the illustrious Buffon, or than had been effected since its foundation, under the direction of Tournesort.

The brilliant exertions of Thibaudeau commenced with the year 1795. It was then that he distinguished

distinguished himself by his numerous speeches and reports upon the critical state of the republic, and the distresses caused by the revolutionary government. The finances, personal liberty, conciliatory laws, &c. fell successively within the sphere of his exertions. He, in a word, acted as though he meant to overturn every thing that had been effected by the revolution.

It is worthy of remark, that the royalists of the south having made two attempts to assassinate the republicans, a commission was twice appointed to examine into the charge, and Thibaudeau was each time one of the leading members. He stated in their reports, that these assassinations were only the result of mal-administration, and that they had never been so numerous as to require *extraordinary measures* to repress them. It was however stated in contradiction, and as a matter of fact, in the official journal of the Directory, that the assassinations perpetrated in the year 1797 only, amounted to twenty-three thousand ! This may have been a gross exaggeration, but it is clear that Thibaudeau favoured the assassins.

He sat in all the subsequent legislatures, and latterly attached himself to the party of Pichegru and Barthelemy; acted in concert with Camille Jourdan, Imbert, Colomes, &c. and became one of the most severe censurers of the Directory. It was therefore not at all astonishing that he should be involved in their proscription.

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He was fortunate enough, however, to effect his escape from Paris, and to conceal himself in the country. When time had allowed the minds of his enemies to cool, and the triumphant Directory was enabled to listen to the voice of moderation, Thibaudeau's friends moved in the council of five hundred, that the decree of transportation should not be carried into execution with respect to him, who they said had not entered into the late faction from aristocratic views, but in consequence of his beloved system of a mild and regular administration, which spirit he had often evinced even in the most turbulent times of the convention.

The motion was agreed to, and Thibaudeau has not since been molested. He has, however, fallen into so great a degree of obscurity, that his name has not been mentioned during the last ten months.

FAUCHET.

It has been unjustly observed of the priesthood, that *all* its members are attached to despotism, and that a kind of tacit compact exists between civil and ecclesiastical tyrants, for the subjugation of mankind; one of the contracting parties exercising dominion over the souls, the other over the bodies of their subjects; each supporting the other in the arbitrary exercise of its respective claims. Were this, however, to be admitted as a general rule, how many glorious exceptions might be mentioned? — It must be confessed, that to the *clerical reformers*

mers of the sixteenth century we are indebted for the emancipation of the human mind from the thralldom of priestcraft, and it is from their arsenal that the sharpest and most deadly weapons have been borrowed for the conflict with the foes of civil liberty.

When the French clergy began to spurn at the yoke of the "Bishop of Rome," they were perhaps more piqued at the insolent dominion of a foreigner, than convinced of his usurpations. The establishment of the *Gallican church*, however, added to the national dignity, and in the independence of the hierarchy, something appeared to have been gained by the people. Since that memorable epoch, the minds of the clergy, particularly those residing in the great cities, have become more expanded, and the *schism* which took place at an early period of the French revolution, proved that arbitrary power had become hideous, even to a multitude of churchmen.

Claude Fauchet was born at Erne, in the department of Nièvre, on the 22d of September 1744; he was one of the ablest clergymen of his time, in respect to pulpit eloquence; for the days of the Flechiers and Bossuets had passed away. His mental powers, however, had made him known even in his youth, and obtained for him the dignity of *Prédicateur du Roi*. He was afterwards appointed *Abbé Commendataire de Monfort*, and at length Vicar-general of Bourges. His funeral oration on the death of the celebrated Abbé Charles Michael de l'Epée, inventor of the new method for educating the deaf and

dumb, was the first essay in France towards the apotheosis of such citizens as had deserved well of their country by their labours, talents, and patriotism.

As he himself observed, "this also was the first time that the *object of a funeral elege* in a church was neither a *tyrant* nor an abettor of *tyranny*, deserving rather of the public *execration* than of flattery from the chair of truth."

Early in the year 1790, Fauchet published a work of some celebrity, entitled "De la Religion Nationale." In this he attempted to prove, first, the necessity of religion and of a national worship; secondly, that the Christian religion was the best adapted to a monarchical state; and, thirdly, he asserted the relation between the Catholick faith and the temporal power, or, in the technical phrase of the Gallican church, "Concorde du Sacerdocè et de l'Empire." It is also supposed that he had a large share in the formation of the civil constitution of the clergy, and that jointly with the Abbé Lamourette he was the inventor of the *civick oath* administered to the constitutional priests.

The revolution found the Abbé Fauchet both rich and respectable. In common with nearly all the enlightened men of France, he hailed the convocation of the States-General as an epoch auspicious to the liberties and happiness of mankind. Naturally of an ardent disposition, he evinced uncommon zeal in the support of his political opinions, and being of an enthusiastical turn of mind, he transferred his *holy fervours* from the altars of superstition to the shrine
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of liberty. In short, some of his productions breathe a spirit of *political mysticism*.

He was one of the many patriots who supposed the court from the beginning insincere; it must be owned that there was but too much cause for this suspicion! It was accordingly decided early in the revolution, that some great blow should be struck, in order to appal the royalists, and perhaps terrify the secret advisers of Louis XVI.; this was accordingly achieved by the capture of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789, which produced a marked preponderance in favour of the nation.

The Abbé Fauchet on this occasion participated in the dangers and the honours of the day, for he is said to have been one of the first who entered "the King's Castle" sword in hand!

But it was not as a soldier only that he distinguished himself; as a clergyman he was serviceable to the cause in a still more eminent degree. It was a novelty to behold a man of his *cloth* renouncing the doctrines of "passive obedience" and "non-resistance," and preaching the "imprescriptible rights of man," to the people. Accordingly, on great occasions he was usually invited to pronounce one of his *civick sermons*, and as all memorable subjects allow ample field for conjecture, he pleased even the fanatical part of his audience by detailing the virtues and sufferings of the Founder of our holy religion, whom he described as "poor, persecuted, suffering for the good cause, and a most excellent *Sans Culotte*."

An admirable occasion presented itself in 1790, for the exercise of his oratory. On the 11th of June Mirabeau entered the National Assembly, announced the death of Franklin, and moved that the deputies should wear mourning for three days on this melancholy event: a proposition instantly assented to by acclamation*.

Early

* The names of Franklin and Mirabeau, are so justly celebrated, that every thing appertaining to them, becomes an object of curiosity. It has, therefore, been deemed proper to insert the following accurate account of the proceedings:

“ National Assembly, 11th June, 1790.

“ M. Mirabeau the elder, having demanded and obtained leave to speak, addressed the Assembly as follows: .

‘ Franklin is dead! ’

[On this a profound and solemn silence took place throughout the hall.]

‘ The genius which gave freedom to America, and scattered torrents of light upon Europe, is returned to the bosom of the Divinity.

‘ The sage whom two worlds claim; the man disputed by the history of the sciences, and the history of empires; holds, most undoubtedly, an elevated rank in the human species.

‘ Political cabinets have but too long notified the death of those who were never great but in their funeral orations; the etiquette of courts has but too long sanctioned hypocritical grief. Nations ought only to mourn for their benefactors; the representatives of freemen ought never to recommend any other than the heroes of humanity to their homage.

‘ The Congress hath ordered a general mourning for one month throughout the fourteen confederated states, on account of the death of Franklin; and America hath thus acquitted her tribute of admiration in behalf of one of the fathers of her constitution.

‘ Would

Early in July, the Commune of Paris determined that this occurrence should be marked by an appro-

‘ Would it not be worthy of you, fellow-legislators, to unite yourselves in this religious act, to participate in this homage rendered in the face of the universe to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has so eminently propagated the conquest of them throughout the world ?

‘ Antiquity would have elevated altars to that mortal, who for the advantage of the human race, embracing both heaven and earth in his vast and extensive mind, knew how to subdue THUNDER and TYRANNY.

‘ Enlightened and free, Europe at least owes its remembrance and regret, to one of the greatest men, who have ever served the cause of philosophy and liberty.

‘ I propose, therefore, that a decree do now pass, enacting, that the National Assembly shall wear mourning during three days for Benjamin Franklin.’

‘ M. M. de Rochefaucault and la Fayette immediately arose in order to second this motion.

‘ The Assembly adopted it, at first by acclamation ; and afterwards decreed by a large majority amidst the plaudits of all the spectators, that on Monday, the 14th of June, it should go into mourning for three days ; that the discourse of M. Mirabeau should be printed ; and that the President should write a letter of condolence upon the occasion, to the Congress of America.’

On the 14th of June, the citizens of Paris, imitating the example of the National Assembly, appeared also in mourning, and ‘ the friends of the revolution and of humanity ’ assembled at the *Café Procope*, wishing to render all due honours to the memory of the great American, ordered the glasses to be covered with crape, and the inner apartment to be hung with black.

On the door towards the street was the following inscription :

“ FRANKLIN EST MORT ! ”

“ *Franklin is dead !* ”

At one end of the apartment was placed his bust, crowned with oak leaves, and at the foot of the pedestal was engraved the word *VIR*.

priate discourse, and they selected the Abbé Fauchet as the orator of the day. Accordingly, on the 21st of that month, this popular preacher delivered an eulogium at the *Rotunda*, in honour of Franklin, in presence of the deputies to the legislative assembly, the mayor, the commandant-general of the national guards, the representatives of the commons, the presidents of the districts, and the electors of the capital.

“The city of Paris,” says he, “which once contained this philosopher within its walls; which was intoxicated with the pleasure of hearing, admiring, and loving him; of gathering from his lips the maxims of moral legislation and of imbibing from the effusions of his heart a passion for the publick welfare, rivals Boston and Philadelphia, his two native cities (for in one he was born as it were a man, and in the other a legislator), in its profound attachment to his merit and his glory.

“It has accordingly commanded this funeral solemnity, in order to perpetuate the gratitude and the grief of this third country, which by the courage and activity with which it has profited of his lessons, has shewn itself worthy of having him at once for an instructor and a model.

“In selecting me for the interpreter of its wishes, it has declared, that it is less to the talents of an orator than the patriotism of a citizen, the zeal of a preacher of liberty, and the sensibility of friend of men, that it hath confided this solemn function. In this point of view I may speak with a holy confidence;

for I have the publick opinion, and the testimony of my own conscience to second my wishes. Since nothing else is wanting than freedom and sensibility, for that species of eloquence which this eulogium requires, I am satisfied, for I already possess them.

“ My voice shall extend to France, to America, to posterity ; I am now to do justice to a great man ; the founder of trans-Atlantick freedom ; I am to praise him in the name of the mother-city of French liberty ; I myself also am a man ; I am a free man ; I possess the suffrages of my fellow citizens : this is enough ; my discourse shall be immortal !”

The orator next proceeds to narrate some particulars respecting the * life of this truly great man :

“ Benjamin Franklin,” adds he, “ was born at the commencement of the present century, in Boston, the capital of New England. His father, persecuted in his own country, on account of his religious opinions, (for the English so wavering in regard to religion, and who have so often changed it by *Act of Parliament*, at the nod of corrupt kings and fana-

* M. Fauchet was exceedingly correct as to all the important events of Franklin's life. He was indebted on this occasion, to the communications of M. Veillard *intendant* of the waters of Passy, M. Fleury, and M. C. Roy, a member of the Academy of Sciences, of the Royal Society of London, &c. and keeper of the king's cabinet of natural history : all of whom were intimate with the American ambassador.

The Abbé himself was also acquainted with him, having often dined in company with Franklin, at a little charming villa at Passy, belonging to M. Roy de Chaumont.

tical chiefs, have always been, and are at this very day persecutors); his father, I say, took refuge in the new world, where the church of England, not having as yet intruded her intolerant solicitude, permitted the liberty of conscience.

“ His profession was obscure; but it is from this very obscurity that it is glorious for him to have elevated himself to the head of his nation, and to have become the chief as it were of mankind. He who was destined to be the founder and the president of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, the creator and the soul of the Congress of America, was at first brought up to the trade of a tallow-chandler. The celebrated orator Flechier began life among ourselves, precisely in the same manner: it may be considered as a prodigy, that under the feudal aristocracy, he should have ever become an opulent bishop!

“ The hereditary nobles, the titled families (it is but yesterday as it were, they have ceased to exist in France) regarding his elevation with a degree of surprise, mingled with scorn, were unable to conceive how a minister dared to confer a bishoprick on a plebeian.

“ Duke, replied the bishop of Nimes to one of his contemporaries who was base enough to reproach him with the occupation of his father, this is in truth what distinguishes us from each other: if you had been born in the same station that I was, you would have still remained a maker of candles!”

As it has been most unjustly asserted, that the Abbé was very *lax* in the article of belief, it may
not

not be amiss to subjoin the concluding part of this *eloge*, in which he makes the following apostrophe to the Deity :

“ Eternal ruler of human occurrences ! who according to thy promise, will dispose every thing in favour of our infant liberty *, it is thou who hast accumulated in silence those remarkable, prodigious, and miraculous events, in order to operate the creation of our happiness.

“ But, in the combination of all thy benefits, the greatest is, that thou hast given us a FRANKLIN, and connected us with an AMERICA ; the most propitious is, that thou hast placed in the balance of the destinies, the genius of the national assembly, and the patriotism of Bailly † and La Fayette ; the most happy is, that thou hast in one day given liberty to the capital and the provinces, and disposed a king to embrace it.

“ O memorable success ! the surrounding nations can scarce give credit to the truth of it ; but they begin to be moved at the sight ; their doubts seem to evaporate, and they at length believe that they also may be happy.

“ Tyrants tremble ! your reign has passed away ; we have now brothers in sentiment over all the earth. But a little longer, and in a mutual independence and equal affection, the nations of the

* Tu autem dominator virtutis cum magnâ reverentiâ disponis nos.

† Then mayor of Paris.

universe will be astonished at being happy, and at finding themselves Frenchmen !

“ Venerable old man, august philosopher, legislator of the felicity of thy country, prophet of the fraternity of the human race, what extatick happiness embellished the end of thy career ! From thy fortunate asylum, and in the midst of thy brothers, who enjoyed in tranquillity the fruits of thy virtues, and the success of thy genius, thou hast sung songs of deliverance. The last looks which thou cast around thee, beheld America happy. France on the other side of the ocean free, and a sure indication of the approaching freedom and happiness of the world.

“ The United States looking upon themselves as thy children, have bewailed the death of the father of their republick ; France thy family by adoption has honoured the founder of their laws ; and the human race has received thee as the universal patriarch who has formed the alliance of nature with society.

“ Thy remembrance belongs to all ages ; thy memory to all nations ; thy glory to eternity !”

This spirited effusion to the memory of a famous *Heretick*, was attended with a singular effect, for it contributed not a little to render the orator a dignitary of the Catholick church. A grand division at this period was about to take place in the Gallican communion, which may henceforth be said to have been divided into *jurors* and *non-jurors* ; those who subscribed

subscribed the *civil constitution*, and those who rejected it; the patriotick, and the refractory clergy. Fauchet, as may be easily imagined, ranged himself on the side of the former, and became bishop of Calvados in Normandy.

This circumstance added to his reputation for patriotism, of course gave him a certain degree of interest within the precincts of his own diocese, and we accordingly find him representing the department in the National Convention, notwithstanding Normandy at that time abounded with royalists.

Here, as before, he took the popular side, and remained equally firm and zealous in his attachment, until the fatal dispute between the Brissotines and the Mountain party deluged all France with blood.

On that occasion, as it may be easily supposed, he did not hesitate to take part with the great and virtuous men, who opposed Robespierre and Marat, and were finally obliged to succumb before the more fortunate destiny of these atrocious tyrants.

He was of course involved in the affair of the twenty-one proscribed members, on the 31st of May; notwithstanding this he might have still escaped, had not other charges, of a very serious nature, been brought against him. He was accused, in the great *mother society*, of having procured a passport for M. de Narbonne, the ex-minister, on account of which his name was erased from the list of Jacobins. A more fatal, and perhaps a more honourable accusation was next brought forward. Chabot denounced him
for

for having received a visit from Charlotte Corday*, after the assassination of Marat.

In consequence of this, he was immediately arrested as a *royalist*, and executed on the 31st of October 1793, in the forty-ninth year of his age.

Fauchet was esteemed on account of the regularity of his life, and the austerity of his principles. Although opulent, he was not expensive, being modest in his deportment, and avoiding every thing that had the appearance of ostentation. His eloquence was deemed pleasing, rather than persuasive; and he was a zealous admirer of J. J. Rousseau, whose memory he cherished with a respect bordering on adoration.

In his person, he was above the middle size, and his countenance exhibited something particularly prepossessing.

* The zeal of Chabot, on this, as on many other occasions, outran his veracity. It is a well-authenticated fact, that Mademoiselle Charlotte Corday, never saw Fauchet. She had indeed been strongly recommended by Barbaroux to the Bishop of Calvados, and the letter, *which had never been presented*, was found in her pocket-book, after she had immolated Marat. This circumstance, which ought to have operated strongly in favour of his innocence, on the contrary, served as a pretext for his guilt. But he was tried before a tribunal of blood, and during a period of distraction, when suspicion and criminality had become synonymous.

THE LAMETHS.

There were two brothers of this name, both at one time, in high favour at the French Court, the *ci-devant* Count especially, who is said to have been in the good graces of the Queen and Madame de Lamballe. A little before the revolution, he married a rich creole of St. Domingo, with whom he got immense wealth, in consequence of the intercession of a great personage; but no sooner did that event take place, than he declared himself on the side of the people. On being reproached with ingratitude, he replied in language worthy of a Roman,—“ that the first and dearest obligations of a citizen are to his country.”

No sooner did the Lameths join in the general cry for a limited government, than they were reminded by the courtiers of their plebeian origin. It was discovered that their great grandfather had been a tallow-chandler at Amiens, and their grandfather a surgeon*. These little genealogical anecdotes were all forgotten, while they basked in the sunshine of Versailles, and vied in favour and splendour with the dukes and peers of France. The moment, however, it was known that they secretly approved of the destruction of the Bastille, the obscurity of their ancestors seems to have become criminal, and it began

* He seems to have been a man of some eminence, for he was surgeon to Cardinal Mazarine.

to be whispered abroad, that they themselves could scarcely be considered as *gentlemen*!

The circumstances just recapitulated gave birth to many splenetick literary effusions on the part of their enemies, and we shall here transcribe one of the lampoons published on the occasion:

“ Jadis, dans Amiens, un Sieur Lameth, dit-on,

“ (Je le tiens d’un savant en généalogies)

“ Vendoit au public des bougies :

“ C’étoit un marchand de renom ;

“ Même on lui doit l’érection en reverberes :

“ Le bonhomme n’avoit d’autre prétention

“ Que de vendre ses huilles cheres.

“ Qu’il feroit fier de son invention,

“ S’il en voyoit les effets salutaires !

“ Ses petits-fils, que de la nation

“ Sont devenus tout-à-coup les lumieres

“ Pour l’éclairer de la bonne façon

“ Dans les archives de leurs peres,” &c.

When any outrage was committed against the royalists ; when the castles of the *noblesse* were set on fire by an enraged and oppressed peasantry, or the persons of the *aristocrates* threatened with chastisement, the recital was sure to be accompanied by some jest against the Lameths, who were said to be at the bottom of the plot, and, not unmindful of the calling of their humble ancestors, were still fond of “letting blood,” and anxious to “enlighten houses with flambeaus, and understandings with *lanternes*.” However clumsy these jokes may appear, they were felt, and it was not long before the objects of them ceased to merit the animadversions of the courtiers.

During

During the greater part of the duration of the constituent assembly, the elder brother evinced a manly independence, and exhibited talents adapted to the *tribune*; for his eloquence was calculated at once to please, instruct, and admonish. It was not until the *revision* of the constitutional code, that his conduct became equivocal; then, indeed, he was thought to have made his peace with the court, and to have been secretly re-admitted into the favour of the Queen. He had been, generally indeed, on but indifferent terms with those whom she considered as her enemies.

His property being situated in the French West Indies, this circumstance interested him greatly in the question concerning negro slavery. He had no objection to men of his own complexion vindicating their freedom; but the idea was intolerable in respect to beings with flat noses, frizzly hair, and dingy complexions,—more especially as he claimed some hundreds of these creatures as his own *property*! It is not to be wondered at, then, if he evinced a deadly hatred against Brissot, and all those appertaining to the society called *l'Amis des Noirs*, who were not sufficient metaphysicians to conceive how human rights could be affected by the mould of the features, or the colour of the skin.

Between the Lameths and La Fayette there existed for a long time the most deadly hatred; they were at length, however, with much difficulty reconciled, and even agreed to act in concert; this coalition was of course looked upon with an evil eye

by the patriots, who, supposing them influenced by interested motives, attacked them with redoubled vigour, and at length forced them to abandon their native country.

ALEXANDER LAMETH.

Notwithstanding his great grandfather, was of the same profession as the father of the Bishop of Nismes*, yet he found means to become a Knight of Malta. This was assuredly in express contradiction to the rules and regulations of that celebrated order of knighthood, as its *crosses* were only to be bestowed on such candidates as could prove themselves *noble*, both by father and mother's side, for a certain number of generations. It demonstrates, however, the *high protection*, as the courtiers were accustomed to term it, with which he was honoured.

When the *States-General* were convoked, Alexander represented the balliage of Peronne, Roze, and Mont-Didier, during the years 1789, 1790, and 1791. While in this capacity, he acquired considerable celebrity by appearing to make a generous sacrifice of the privileges of a particular *cast* to the interests of his country. He consequently ranged himself on the side of the minority of the nobles, and acquired a considerable degree of popularity, notwithstanding his cross of Malta, his rank, and his great connections.

* The father of the celebrated and eloquent Flechier was a *colporteur*,
clauder.

When the declaration of the RIGHTS OF MAN was proposed, he voted for the affirmative; he also contributed to the annihilation of the parliaments, and assented to the precedence of the legislative over the executive power.

When at the height of his reputation, he attacked Mirabeau; that great orator designated him and his supporters, under the name of *Anarchists*; denounced them by that title only eight days before his death; and would, perhaps, have crushed them in the bud, if he had lived but a few months longer.

About this time he had obtained some eminence in the Jacobin society; but he made such a tyrannical use of his influence, that he was soon abandoned.

He was elected President of the National Convention, and assumed the chair, on the 21st of November 1790.

The *Chevalier* was at length included in the decree of accusation launched against Barnave, and saved himself by flight in 1792.

He is said to be naturally vain and intriguing, but his misfortunes have undoubtedly corrected the first of these faults, as he has of late been educated in the school of adversity. As to the latter qualification, were he to possess all the requisites, it must of course be useless during his present obscurity.

CHARLES LAMETH,

A *ci-devant* COUNT, and Colonel of *Cuirassiers*, is still more celebrated than his relation, and at two different periods of his life was in possession of im-

menſe influence, having by turns been patroniſed by the court and the popular party.

He was one of the deputies in the States-General for the province of Artois, and conducted himſelf nearly in the ſame manner as his brother, having ſided with ſuch of the nobles as took part with the people, and, with them ſcorning every idea of perſonal intereſt, he ſacrificed his privileges to his principles. On this account they were of courſe abhorred by the *feudal aristocracy*; but, perhaps, ſuch an enmity conſtitutes their moſt honourable eulogium.

It has been ſaid of Charles, that he evinced the blackeſt ingratitude on this occaſion, having been educated in the Court, and indebted to the Queen for his marriage with a rich heiress: but although it be a delicate thing to draw diſtinctions between the duty we owe to our country, and our reſpect to individuals, as a queſtion of *right*, there can exiſt no doubt.

The projects of the Lameth family, owing to a variety of circumſtances, have never been ſufficiently developed. It is pretty evident, however, that they were ambitious to take the lead in publick affairs, and were at one time exceedingly popular*.

This was demonſtrated on the duel between Charles and the Duke de Caſtries, a deputy like himſelf in the States-General, but of an oppoſite

* Both the brothers were Presidents of the National Aſſembly; Charles acted in that capacity on the 3d of July 1791.

party; for he sat on, and voted with the *côté droit*, or right side, as that of the royalists was then termed.

The Count had caused a person of the name of Sauvigny to be excluded from the meetings of the *noblesse*; on this the latter made use of certain expressions which the *new deputy* parried by pleading his mission, observing, that being now devoted to the affairs of the publick, he could not avenge the insult offered to an individual.

The Duke de Castries treated this as an *excuse* to prevent fighting, and some of his pleasantries having come to the ears of Count Lameth, a combat ensued. On this occasion the latter received three sword wounds in the arm from the hand of his antagonist, and conducted himself with great gallantry.

No sooner were the Parisians acquainted with the event than they considered it as an assassination of one of their champions. They accordingly repaired in immense crowds to the *Hôtel de Castries*, intending to avenge themselves on the person of the duke. As he, however, had been prudent enough to retire, they instantly began to destroy every thing in his house, which was completely gutted in the course of a few minutes.

They then attempted to set fire to it, but were prevented by the vigilance of La Fayette, at that time *Commandant-général* of the national guards, who flew thither at the head of a squadron of horse.

This,

This, however, proved a very thankless office, for the *aristocrates* asserted that he had received timely notice of, and could have prevented the disorder, but did not chuse to stir from head quarters until the whole city was in danger of being set on fire!

A little before this M. Lameth, who held an office* in the household of the Count d'Artois, resigned his charge: on that occasion he *stole a march* on his royal highness, who intended to have *dismissed* him on account of his political principles.

Charles Lameth left France in 1792, and repaired instantly to a neutral territory, having rejoined his brother at Hamburgh; he has since been in England, but the sight of a *constitutionel* was too odious to be endured by the royalists of the *old school*, and he is reported to have been sent off at a very short warning.

Both the Lameths were inserted in the list of emigrants; notwithstanding this they returned to France, and remained publicly there during three months: it was during that short but critical period when Camille-Jourdan, Barthelemy, &c. had palsied the public efforts, and were on the point of producing a counter-revolution. No sooner, however, did the grand epoch of the 4th of September arrive, than their hopes were completely blasted, and they as well as a multitude of emigrants obliged once more to fly.

* *Gentilhomme d'honneur*, a kind of lord in waiting!

They have lately been employed in getting their names erased from the fatal scroll that condemns them to exile, but they have hitherto proved unsuccessful, and unless some very unexpected circumstance should occur, they are likely to spend the remainder of their lives in a foreign country.

JEAN DE BRY,

Was the son of an eminent lawyer in Laon, in the *Soissonnois*, and he himself was bred to the bar and actually practised there before the revolution. That event prevented him from obtaining the reputation of a great advocate and also obscured the prospect of a considerable fortune; but he has been fully compensated for these imaginary losses by the revolution.

Besides a knowledge of jurisprudence, Jean de Bry affected to be somewhat of a philosopher; and obtained that character by a sensible publication, printed at Laon in the year 1790, with the title *Essai sur l'Education Nationale*. These two qualifications obtained him the place of *member* of the directory of the department of l'Aisne, one of the six which includes the ci-devant *Soissonnois*, *Beauvoisis*, and the *Vexin*.

Soon after this he was appointed a deputy to the National Convention by the electors of his department, and from the first moment of his entrance into the legislature exhibited a most ardent love for liberty, mixed however at times with a certain violence of spirit that proved detrimental to his party.

He

He was one of the chief abettors of the two famous decrees of the National Convention of the 15th and 27th of November 1792, which promised the fraternal assistance of the French nation to the oppressed inhabitants of every country who wished to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. This measure, according to the royalists, was a direct invitation to all the Cromwells and Masaniellos of Europe.

It was he also who, both in the Jacobin club and Convention, moved to create a *Légion des Tyrannicides*, for the purpose of delivering mankind from the yoke of royal oppression. Brissot and his friends, however, scouted these exaggerated propositions, which tended not a little to add to the odium already excited against the French.

In the year 1792, Jean de Bry was twice secretary during the presidency of Herault and Gregoire, and in the month of March of the subsequent year (1793) he himself was elected to the chair.

The Girondists did not treat him with any great respect, and he was always beheld with a suspicious eye by the Mountain. He however obtained a certain degree of influence after the Thermidorian Jubilee, and from that time to this he has always been a distinguished patriot in the legislature, and an assiduous and laborious member of the committees.

In the summer of 1795, a thick cloud seemed to environ the head of this deputy. Happening to be on a mission to the army of the Rhine, he was publicly charged with having disorganized the military discipline, so admirably attained by the aid of Pichegru, and
with

with spreading *anti-republican* principles among the inferior officers. This ridiculous imputation originated in the misconduct of some young men, who left their regiments before the passage of the Rhine, and repaired to Basle, where they were heard to say, "that they were not foolish enough to fight for a republick, which they knew to a certainty could not exist." They added, "that Pichegru and Jean de Bry were actually concerting measures for delivering Strasbourg to the army of Condé!"

The patriotism of the deputy was, however, so universally acknowledged as to secure him from any kind of enquiry on this occasion.

Jean de Bry has been lately sent as minister plenipotentiary to the Congress of Radstadt, in the room of Treillard, who has obtained the rank of Director.

On this grand discussion depends the peace of Germany, and perhaps of Europe. The ablest negotiators will be present on the part of Prussia, Austria, &c. but unfortunately the talents of Jean de Bry are inferior to those of his predecessor, and he is deficient in diplomatick acquirements. It is thought therefore that the *ex-director* will settle all the preliminary articles within the limits of the republick, and the new minister—should peace be concluded—will have only to affix his signature and sanction.

DAUNOU,

Like Billaud, was originally a priest of the *Oratory*, but far superior to him both in capacity and knowledge. He was a man of learning in the strictest sense of the word, and besides his exertions within the walls of his convent, in the instruction of the youth who were entrusted to that community, he wrote some memoirs on natural history previously to the revolution, which obtained him admittance into the society of Experimental Philosophy at Brussels.

Daunou was too much a philosopher to be attached to the prejudices of his condition; but he was prudent enough to conceal his sentiments until a favourable opportunity occurred.

The new order of things enabled him to throw off the disguise. Accordingly, in the year 1790, he published a work which occasioned some noise at that period, and is still highly esteemed, entitled *De la Religion Publique, ou Reflexions sur un Chapitre du Contrat Sociale de Jean Jacques Rousseau*. It was observed that Daunou, Raynal excepted, was the first monk in France who had cultivated with success the triumphant philosophy of the age. *Le Catholique Romain*, said Daunou, *a deux Chefs, son Roi et le Pape. Or il est indubitable qu'un François, qui se croira le sujet de l'évêque de Rome, sera toujours en France un mauvais citoyen ! **

* " The Roman Catholick faith has two heads : the King and the Pope. Now it is incontestable, that a Frenchman who believes himself the subject of the bishop of Rome, will be always a bad citizen."

Little satisfied with his theoretical philosophy, Daunou wanted to give also some proofs of what is called active patriotism. It was he who prevailed upon his brethren *de la Congrégation de l'Oratoire* to send a petition to the National Assembly in September 1790, craving leave to appear in its presence, and take the civic oath to bring up the French youth in the principles of the constitution. When this request was granted, he himself repaired to the bar, as the chief of the deputation.

He also wrote some discourses, afterwards inserted in the *Journal Encyclopédique*, upon the advantages that French literature was likely to reap from public liberty. These essays tended to confute the doctrine inculcated by the conductor of the *Année Littéraire* (the successor of the famous Freron), who asserted that political investigations were apt to destroy the taste for the sciences and the *belles-lettres*.

Daunou was at length appointed a deputy to the National Convention by the department *du Pas de Calais*. During the triumph of the *Girondists* his name was scarcely mentioned, and yet their fall involved him in the persecution of the seventy-three members who had protested against the proceedings of the 31st of May. He remained in confinement during fourteen months.

At length the imprisoned deputies were liberated, and resumed, *jure postliminii*, their ancient rights. After regaining their liberty they were generally more actively, and indeed more usefully employed than the rest of their colleagues. This was exactly the case with

Daunou. He became a member of the Committee of Legislation, where he made a considerable figure, and was admitted soon after into the Committee of General Security, where his motions were always distinguished for their good sense and humanity.

When Buonaparte conquered Austrian Lombardy, and the Emperour undertook by the treaty of Udina to acknowledge the new Cisalpine government, the former requested the directory to send a few distinguished *publicists* to assist him in forming the constitution of the new Italian republick. They were accordingly nominated, and the most conspicuous members proved to be Sieyes and Daunou. They did not, however, set out for Italy, as Buonaparte, either in consequence of the orders of the French government, or of his own accord, organized their laws, convoked their legislature, and appointed the executive magistracy.

Soon after the murder of the French general Dumphoz in Rome, and the march of the French troops to revenge his fate, Daunou and Monge were dispatched to that metropolis as commissioners of the directory.

Daunou is still there and continues to act an important part—that of French proconsul in the capital of the ancient world.

When he resided in Paris, during the great conflict between the republicans and the royalists, previous to the 18th Fructidor, he became the assistant of Garat and Chenier in the journal entitled—*Le Conservateur de la République*.

Daunou

Daunou has never disappointed the publick in the opinion it had formed of him, in the beginning of his political career; and he has always been remarkable for his investigating spirit and methodical mode of reasoning. He is reputed, next to Sieyes, to be the greatest adept in the principles of political economy, and, in the language of a royalist, is *metaphysically jacobinical*.

ROEDERER,

Has distinguished himself as a lawyer, a statesman, and a man of letters. The revolution found him president of the Parliament of Metz, and he enjoyed a high reputation in his native province*. Being appointed a deputy to the States-General, his conduct there was always marked by sagacity, wisdom, and moderation.

To him was owing the decree passed by the National Assembly in April 1790; declaring, that "Letters were the property of him to whom they were written, but could not be printed without the consent of the person who was the author of them." This decision tended to convey a censure upon the Abbé Maury, who had betrayed a private correspondence.

It was he likewise who moved, that the clergy of all descriptions, whose revenues were reduced;

* The *ci-devant* Lorraine.

should enjoy something more than the *minimum* fixed by the ecclesiastical committee.

In October 1790 he presented the celebrated report respecting *tobacco*, and procured that the cultivation of this article should be permitted throughout the whole kingdom.

He also was the first who moved, that the right of active citizens should be granted "*à cette nation si active, si industrieuse, qui a promené sur le globe ses superstitions, son argent et ses malheurs (les Juifs), et à cette classe d'hommes que nos anciennes loix vouloient dégrader, tandis que nos applaudissements leur faisoient partager tous les jours sur le théâtre, la gloire des plus illustres génies (les comédiens) **."

On the dissolution of the first Assembly, Roederer was appointed a member of the department of Paris, and, after the death of M. de la Rochefoucault †, he was nominated president. He held this honourable post more than a twelvemonth, and towards the end of that period found himself in a very critical situation. In his capacity of president he was obliged, in company with some of his colleagues, to

* "To that nation so active, so industrious, (*the Jews*) which has wandered over the globe with its superstitions, its wealth, and its misfortunes; and to that class of persons (*those appertaining to the stage*), whom our ancient laws inclined to degrade, at the very time our plaudits made them participate every night at the theatre, in the glory of the most illustrious geniuses."

† Formerly the Duke de Rochefoucault.

pay a visit to the king, then prisoner in the Temple, in order to subject him to certain interrogatories. This was certainly a disagreeable task; for no human wisdom could at that time suggest the due medium between the respect to be paid to the unfortunate monarch, and the magisterial deportment exacted by the growing republican spirit.

At the period of the revolutionary government, all the authorities constituted by the national assembly were suspended, and the departmental administration of Paris was actually abolished, to give room to the revolutionary tribunal.

Rœderer possessed too much honour, as well as too much humanity, to become the tool of such men as Danton and Robespierre: of course he was exposed to their malice.

Accordingly, he was persecuted in the same manner as many other deputies of the constituent assembly, and had he not effected his escape, would have been sent to the guillotine with his ancient colleagues Barnave, Gouttes, Chapellier, &c.

When the days of *terrorism* had passed away, Rœderer repaired to Paris, and being without any sort of occupation, he gave a course of lectures on *publick law* and *political economy*, at the Republican Lyceum, which added greatly to his former fame. It is astonishing, however, that notwithstanding his talents and patriotism, are generally acknowledged in France, he has never been elected a deputy to any of the subsequent Legislatures.

Before the last tremendous revolution of the 8th Fructidor, Rœderer was the chief conductor of a journal, entitled *la Décade Historique*. It was remarkable for being one of the few impartial periodical publications, out of 150 papers that appeared daily in Paris. He was, in some measure, a protector of the growing spirit of christianity, then arising from the revolutionary ruins, in opposition to the anarchical and atheistical philosophy: "*Si nous accusons **", said Rœderer in one of his numbers, "*l'Évangile d'avoir causé la St. Barthelemi, on pourra, avec autant de raison, accuser la Philosophie d'avoir causé les 2 et 3 Septembre.*"

It may be necessary to remark, that during the session of the constituent assembly, he had been a member of the Jacobin club, and it was owing to his zeal, that a similar institution under the name of *The friends of the constitution* was established at Metz. It is likewise a matter of fact, that when this society had resolved to break off all connection with the jacobins, who were charged with having contributed to the tumultuous meetings in the *Champ de Mars*, and correspond for the future with

* "If we are to accuse the gospel of having occasioned the massacre of St. Bartholomew, we may with equal reason, accuse philosophy, of having produced that of the 2d and 3d of September." This proposition is far from being correct. It was neither the bible that caused the one, nor philosophy that was the origin of the other. They both originated in *fanaticism*, with this difference, that the first was the offspring of religion, the second of politicks.

the *Feuillans* only, Rœderer wrote a long letter *, in which he exhorted them to *preserve their union with the mother-society*, and to shun an alliance with the *Feuillans* (*"qui entendent la tactique des émeutes beaucoup mieux que personne,"*) who had attained a superiour degree of eminence, in the art of exciting commotions !

BOURDON DE L'OISE.

This senator, according to some, was originally an attorney ; others say a clerk to a notary of Pontoise, a town seven leagues distant from Paris. Whatever his profession may have been, few deputies have exceeded Bourdon in spirit, activity, and undaunted courage. He has been present at the most awful events which have occurred during the course of the revolution, and he has always conducted himself with intrepidity. It is not to be concealed, however, that he has acted with all parties, and that his character is very equivocal.

During the reign of *terrorism*, Bourdon was one of the most strenuous supporters of the *mountaineers*, with whom he had ingratiated himself, partly by his credit for patriotism, and partly by his having been president of the jacobin club on the famous 31st of May, 1793.

It is also recorded, that on the 1st of June, while on his way to the hall of the National Convention, he mingled among the ranks of the armed force, in the

* In 1791.

garden of the Thuilleries, and exhorted the citizen-soldiers to defend to the last drop of their blood, the National Convention, then threatened by the Girondists, who wanted to destroy the republick, and the jacobins who were its most powerful advocates.

The emigrant count de Montgaillard, pretends that Bourdon laboured very much in secret with Marat, to bring about the dreadful events that ensued; and as the latter was accustomed to say "that in order to consolidate the republick, four hundred thousand persons ought to have been *cut off*;" M. de Montgaillard adds, that Bourdon very often replied—" *courage, mon ami; un zéro de plus à ton addition patriotique, et l'épuration sera complete **."

It is asserted also, that Bourdon de l'Oise was a complete terrorist, and that he instigated Robespierre more than once, "not to let the seventy deputies rot in prison!"

In the month of December 1793, he is said to have proposed, a general massacre of those confined in the jails, to the jacobin club; and in the month of April, to have moved it again jointly with Barrere and Collot d'Herbois. It is besides reported, that he sent emissaries and money to the sections of Le Pelletier, La Halle-aux-Bleds, and the *contrat social*, in order to obtain their consent. With the same view, he is said to have caused 8,000 livres to be

* Courage my friend! but one more cypher to your patriotick addition, and the purification will be complete.

paid to a pastry-cook of the name of Cretien; and 3,000 to Calvet, a hair-dresser, who had a powerful ascendancy in their respective sections. He had also obtained the rank of president in one of the above sections, for a citizen named *Desfeu*, on whom he could rely; and he had procured from the Committee of Publick Safety, the sum of 20,000 livres, which were presented to Mr. Talma, a performer in the *Théâtre de la République*, who was one of the demagogues of the groupes of the *Palais Royal*, as well as of the mob in the two celebrated suburbs *St. Antoine* and *S. Marceau*.

If this horrid project was never carried into execution, it is reported to be owing to the marked disapprobation it met with among the greater part of the sections; Bourdon himself is thought to have been soon after ashamed of the attempt.

It would appear almost incredible after this, that Bourdon de l'Oise, should become one of the greatest champions of the *Thermidorean* faction, if it were not recorded in the annals of the French revolution, that he was the very first to co-operate with Tallien in the downfall of Robespierre, and that he actually became a violent persecutor of his former associates, the jacobins! In the *new order of things*, he was, however, eminently useful to the republick. Whilst Gregoire, Lanjuinay, Louvet, Boissy, Fourcroy, and other deputies of great learning and talents, displayed the horrors of the preceding tyranny in their writings, Bourdon, Tallien, Legendre, Dumont, exhibited no common degree of courage and activity in their efforts to annihilate the *mountain*.

Bourdon

Bourdon soon acquired the fame of a royalist and an aristocrat. But the publick was speedily undeceived on this subject. In the month of January, 1795, Duhem denounced to the National Convention, the last literary work of the celebrated professor La Croix, entitled—"Le Spectateur Français pendant le Gouvernement Révolutionnaire;" which was the first publick step towards *royalism*. Bourdon, on this occasion, rose, and declared the book to be a detestable publication, worthy of punishment, on the part of the laws, and deserving scorn on that of all good citizens. "I am ready," added he, "to spill the last drop in my veins, in order to prevent the return of royalty. The blood of fifteen hundred thousand brethren in arms, covered with the laurels of victory, shall not be wasted to no purpose."

Soon after this, M. Gregoire made a motion relative to the establishment of the Catholick faith. Bourdon was one of his opponents. "You are, my dear colleague," said he to Gregoire, "a perfectly honest man, at once very sensible and very learned, a good patriot, and a good republican, but you now demonstrate to me, that a priest is always a priest."

In the spring and summer of 1795, a period of universal perplexity, the sentiments of this deputy were never ascertained. His speeches in the Convention against the representatives proscribed on the 12th *Germinal*, were held in high repute, and obtained him the title of an honest man. On the other hand, his motion for abolishing all the assignats, issued
under

under the constitutional monarchy, or to use the technical language of the Convention, *pour démonetizer les assignats à face royal*, which amounted to the enormous sum of four milliards, rendered him suspected of anarchical and jacobinical principles by many of his colleagues.

Towards the close of the sitting of the Convention, an opportunity was offered to Bourdon, to complete his services to his native country. The legislature had discovered, that the royalist conspiracy first developed by the rebellious sections of Paris, had extensive ramifications throughtout the republick; and indeed, as soon as the sections were defeated, open insurrections took place in a great number of the western departments, especially at Chartres, Orleans, Blois, &c. It was even suspected, that the chain of rebellion, extended from Paris to the army of Charrette in *La Vendée*. Several deputies were accordingly sent on mission to the places most exposed to the arts of the insurgents. Bourdon being nominated to the department of Eure, conducted himself with uncommon sagacity and activity. In short, he discovered the thread of the conspiracy, and in the town of Nogent, actually found a magazine of arms, in which, among other implements of war, were ten thousand pikes. He was, however, less successful in Chartres, where his predecessor Le Tellier had been murdered. He also risked his life, and was besieged during fifteen days by the insurgents, in a castle, where he would have perished, if a large detachment of troops had not marched to his relief.

It seems quite unaccountable that such a man as this should have become a royalist. Certain it is, however, that Bourdon having been once more elected a member of the present legislature, by procuring a seat in the Council of Five Hundred, he instantly joined himself to the party of Pichegru and Barthelemy.

There are many well informed persons who think that all the proscribed deputies were not royalists, and that on the contrary, some of them were staunch republicans, who intended to put an end to the arbitrary proceedings of the directory, to suspend revolutionary measures, and settle a regular government. Bourdon was perhaps of this number, and if so, he did not deserve the tremendous proscription in which he was involved on the famous 18th *Fructidor*, of the last year. On the other hand, if he was really a royalist, he fully justified the opinion already conceived of him in France, that he was *the man of every party*.

Bourdon is about forty years of age, and much celebrated for his stentorian voice, which was often excelled in point of melody, but in respect to loudness, must be allowed to have been unrivalled in the hall of the legislature.

MENOU.

Is a *ci-devant* baron, and officer in the French army. Whether he rushed into the revolution from a love of liberty, or from enmity to the court, is not as yet well ascertained. It is but fair, however, to attribute his conduct to the more honourable motive. One of those noblemen who openly joined the *tiers état*, in opposition to the privileged orders, he acted a considerable part in the constituent assembly, having been a member of the military committee, and a colleague of Dubois Crancé, Noailles, &c.

His services at that memorable period will be always remembered in France with honour and gratitude, for he was the first to give his opinion, in Jan. 1790, that the only means to have what he termed, *des soldats-citoyens et des citoyens-soldats**, was so to settle the *military conscription*, that the names of all male children should be entered, and they themselves obliged to serve their country as soldiers for a certain number of years. This was the first step towards the subsequent requisitions, which by raising astonishing masses of men, consolidated peace at home, and national glory abroad.

No sooner was the first legislature dissolved, than this deputy experienced a temporary oblivion. If the constitutional monarchy had subsisted, he would certainly have acted a conspicuous part, but he was

* Soldier-citizens, and citizen-soldiers.

exposed, like all the moderate patriots, to the persecution of the terrorists; and the downfall of that bloody faction restored him to liberty.

The almost boundless authority attached to the office of commander in chief of the national guard of Paris, had never been entrusted to any person since the catastrophe of Henriot. The Convention experienced how far it had proved dangerous in the hands of the latter, as well as of his predecessors, La Fayette and Santerre. They were so much afraid indeed of appointing another, that on the 12th *Germinal* (1795), when the mountaineers Duhem, Gaston, Chodieu, &c. were committed to prison, the command of the Parisian army was only *provisionally* conferred on Gen. Pichegru, at that time in the capital. It was, however, very soon found, that a commander was unavoidable. On the motion of André Dumont, the Convention enacted a law, that all the terrorists, or, as it was now the fashionable term, *the bad citizens*, should be disarmed, and that if any of them happened to be met with in hostile array, they should be directly transported to Guyana. The whole of the Parisian force was then in the hands of what was called *good citizens*, who, however, were all aristocrats and royalists.

M. Menou was appointed their commander, and no man in Paris, at that time, could help thinking, that it was really the wish of the Convention, to restore royalty in France. This error proved highly beneficial to its security.

In

In the famous insurrection of the 1st *Prairial*, when the inhabitants of the *Faubourg St. Antoine* besieged the hall of the legislature, and cut off the head of the representative Ferrand, the Parisian youth, in the national guard, commanded by M. Menou, effected prodigies of bravery, while subduing the insurgents. Had it not been for the grand mistake just alluded to, the aristocracy of the capital would never have taken up arms for the defence of the national representation, which of course would have fallen a prey to the insurgents, and France would have been swallowed up once more in the gulph of terrorism. Louvet soon after acknowledged in his *Sentinelle*, that the royalists had saved the republick, *sans le vouloir**.

Subsequent events have demonstrated how difficult it is for an honest man to conciliate the esteem of contending factions during the stormy periods of a revolution. Menou was certainly a friend to liberty, but he detested blood. On the other hand, there was now no other party in France, but royalists and republicans, and the contest had just commenced between the sections of Paris and the National Convention, with respect to the new election of two-thirds of the members of the legislative body.

Had M. de Menou foreseen the course of events, and given in his resignation, the situation of the Convention would have been exceedingly problematical; but he carressed both parties. He promised the Committee of General Security, that he would

* Without intending it.

never desert the republican standard, and declared to the sections, that he would not command an army against them. This latter declaration was so far misunderstood by the section of *Le Pelletier* in particular, that the inhabitants thought he was speaking in the name of the whole army.

The fatal struggle at length took place, and M^{de} Menou on being ordered to march against the rebellious citizens, refused to obey. This behaviour was certainly consistent with his honour; but it was not satisfactory to the sections, who were sanguine enough to hope, that he had gained over the troops under his command. Unfortunately for them, they were soon undeceived; for the command being invested in Barras, Freron, and Buonaparte, they were subdued and proscribed.

It was natural enough, that this man should become an object of abuse with both parties. The victorious Convention upbraided him with deserting from the duties of a republican, in the time of the most pressing danger; it was even asserted, that he had been bribed by the royalists. He was accordingly committed to prison, and tried before a military commission. He was, however, acquitted, and honourable mention was made of him by his judges, as a man of honour and humanity.

M. de Menou was soon after admitted into the favour of the present directory, who conferred on him in the course of last year, the important trust of *inspector of the cavalry* in the interior, which station

tion he now fills with his accustomed talents and integrity.

If any credit be given to some papers relative to a late conspiracy of the royalists conducted by M. le Maitre, and detected by the Directory, M. de Menou is held in great abhorrence by the emigrants.

In the proclamation of the pretender it is also stated, among other things, that La Fayette, Sieyes, and he, are destined to a violent death, in case of a counter-revolution. Menou is a tall, good looking man, of about 50 years of age.

LE COULTEUX DE CHANTELEU.

The family of Le Coulteux came originally from Rouen, the metropolis of Normandy. It was divided into many branches, each of which was exceedingly wealthy, though none of them could rival that of the subject of these memoirs. They were all employed in commerce, and M. Le Coulteux, the deputy, had established a counting-house in Paris.

It is an established fact, that the French nobility, more especially in the earlier part of their lives, were extremely insolent towards the inferiour orders: but it is equally true, that those displayed most illiberality, who had either a recent origin, or were the immediate descendants of magistrates and lawyers, and for this reason were themselves in some measure despised by every class of citizens, and more especially by the higher orders of *noblesse*, who were accustomed to ridicule them under the appellation of *les nouveaux venus robins*.

Rouen was the seat of a parliament, and therefore full of poor noblemen. On the other hand, it possessed a variety of manufactures, an extensive trade, and, consequently, many men of large fortunes.— This singular contrast had carried the animosity between the opulent merchants and the nobles in Rouen to a higher pitch than any where else in France; and it is but natural to conceive, that at the approach of the revolution, the very word *merchant* was, in that place, synonymous with *democrat*.

M. Le Coulteux, besides his wealth and patriotism, had further claims to be appointed a deputy to the States-General. He had received a learned education, travelled through the chief countries of Europe, and was a complete master of the Italian, Spanish, and English languages.

If the labours of Mr. Coulteux in the Constituent Assembly, and the services achieved for his country at the beginning of the revolution, were not entitled to such exalted renown as those of Mirabeau, Barnave, and other eminent persons, who are chiefly indebted for their fame to their astonishing eloquence, they were by no means less important.

To him the French are indebted for the discovery of the insufficiency of Mr. Necker's talents, in respect to financial operations.

In January 1790, he was appointed one of the commissaries charged with the examination of a plan presented to the Assembly by M. Laborde, for the erection of a national bank. Necker had already projected a different one. M. Le Coulteux, on making

making his report, acted very modestly with respect to both: such, however, were his opinions relative to the scheme of the celebrated minister, that the Assembly rejected it, and adopted that of M. Laborde, with certain modifications projected by the reporter.

It seems to have been decreed that M. Le Coulteux should raise his fame upon the ruins of that of the minister. Accordingly, on the 7th of February, he was appointed by the King *trésorier de l'extraordinaire*. This afforded another opportunity of displaying his modesty and patriotism: for, a violent debate having arisen in the Assembly on the question, Whether such a place was compatible with the duties of a legislator? he declared, that in the alternative of making an election, his choice was already determined; for he thought himself more honoured by remaining a member of the Assembly, than by accepting any office under government.

All the exertions of M. Le Coulteux, in the Constituent Assembly, were directed towards financial operations, and he constantly evinced his superior abilities and zeal for the regeneration of public economy in his native country.

The short compass of a biographical sketch does not permit a detail of particulars. It is, however, proper to state, that this deputy was the first to point out the resource of patriotick gifts. In consequence of his zeal, these, so early as the month of June 1790, amounted to no less than eighty millions of livres!

Upon.

Upon all occasions his conduct was modest, unassuming and generous. Though he was the first to discover a deficiency in the abilities of M. Necker, he always strenuously supported him, when any of his colleagues attacked that minister, on the score of morals, and he had a violent altercation with M. Camus, in the sitting of the 19th of July 1790, when the latter opposed the grant of thirty millions, solicited by the Comptroller General of the Finances.

When the National Assembly was dissolved, in order to give place to the subsequent legislature, M. Le Coulteux, satisfied, as he said, with his share of glory, among the honest men who had deserved well of their country, resumed his former course of life, and lived in a happy oblivion, at Paris, during the years 1792 and 1793.

But when he perceived the danger of the tremendous proscription that hung over the whole class of wealthy individuals, from the brutal and atrocious faction of the triumphant *sans-culottes*, he left the metropolis, and retired to his country seat at Auteuil. —It was, however, in vain to have recourse to such precautions; for he was too well known to escape the notice of the sanguinary monsters of the revolutionary committees. He was accordingly seized, carried to Paris, and, in all probability, destined to the guillotine, had not the 9th *Thermidor* intervened, and procured him liberty.

Le Coulteux was elected, in the year 1795, a deputy of the department of Paris in the new legislature,

legislature, and soon after took his seat in the Council of Elders. But notwithstanding his extraordinary qualifications, he would never have been nominated, if the famous 13th *Vendemiaire* had not taken place. He was known to be as averse to royalty as to anarchy, and for this very reason was in no great favour with either party. Such was in general the fate of all the *constituents*: they were utterly despised both by the royalists and republicans. His appointment, therefore, proceeded from the perplexity of the electoral college, which deemed itself secure from attack, if it appointed those persons who had made any figure in the preceding assembly.

The career of this deputy in the new legislature is pretty nearly the same as in the Constituent Assembly. Patriotism has been his counsel, and finance his element. His plans have not, however, met with equal success; for the financial system of France, at the close of the revolutionary government, was so distracted, as to baffle any judicious and regular scheme.

Mr. Le Coulteux was the author of the *forced loan* of six hundred millions in specie, decreed by the legislature, in November 1795, which, however, proved unsuccessful, notwithstanding the compulsory means adopted by the Directory.

He was also the first to move for the erection of a financial company, charged with the administration of the national estates, and the discharge of paper currency by means of ready money. He afterwards proposed that another company should be formed,
some-

somewhat similar to the Bank of England, to enable the Executive Power to provide for the annual expenditure. Both these plans were approved by all well-informed persons, but it was not possible at that time to carry them into execution.

Lastly, he moved for the loan of sixty millions for the boasted descent on England, and was at the head of the deputation of bankers, who presented themselves to the Directory, and offered their respective quotas towards forwarding this object.

It is but justice to observe, that M. Le Coulteux is extremely amiable in private life. To a comprehensive mind he unites gentle manners. Though his fortune is immense, his expences are limited, and his domestick arrangements frugal. He also pays great attention to the education of his children, for whose instruction he selects the ablest masters in France.

The writer of this article had the following anecdote from one of his friends:—A young Spanish nobleman repaired to Paris, a few months after the peace between the French Republick and Spain had been concluded. He was strongly recommended to M. Coulteux by a mercantile house of respectability, that knew nothing of his principles or political character. The Spaniard was of course invited to dine with him. As he had been informed in his native country, that no honest man in France was a republican, and that all the deputies in the legislature were the dregs of the people, he spoke while at table of both councils in an indecent manner, and concluded by observing, “ that they were
a pack

a pack of scoundrels, who disgraced the French name!"—M. Le Coulteux, smiling, replied—"I hope, Sir, you make an exception in my favour."—"I beg your pardon," answered the Spaniard without discomposing himself, "this is the first time I have perceived that a sensible and accomplished man is not a royalist!"

Le Coulteux is upwards of fifty years of age. He lives in a wing of the large house called the *Palais de Bourbon*, in the *Faubourg St. Honoré*, facing the Elysian Fields.

TILLY.

This zealous republican never ambitioned a seat in the legislature, or exercised any publick office in France. He has, however, been employed abroad, and his talents in the diplomatick line are second to none.

Tilly was originally a nobleman of Brittany, and is a relation of the emigrant Count de Tilly, and also of the republican general of the same name, who distinguished himself in the army of the Rhine, under Jourdan, Hoche, and Angereau.

He was one of the few men appertaining to the privileged orders who, under the corrupt state of the monarchy, and in the midst of the licentiousness of his own cast, dedicated his time to serious studies, and cultivated those liberal principles which, however they may have been abused, constitute the glory of the present age, and became the precursors of the revolution.

In order to obtain information he visited both England and Italy. In each of these countries he distinguished himself by his inquisitive disposition, and his assiduous attention to learned men.

At his return to France, Tilly was too modest to publish a detailed journal of his travels in order to satisfy his literary vanity, and at the same time too sensible of the weight of his observations in respect to his native country, to conceal his acquisitions. Accordingly he wrote some very short but interesting memoirs, tending to put the French on the same footing with the English navy, and to improve the manufactures and trade of his native country, so as to cope at least with, if not to surpass that of its rivals.

The revolution at length occurred, and amidst the numberless emigrations and plots of the nobility, it certainly afforded great satisfaction to the patriots to behold a few individuals abjuring the prejudices of their order, and joining in the struggle for freedom. Tilly was accordingly highly admired by the Parisians, and as soon as the republick was proclaimed, the executive council was advised to employ him in the diplomattick line. His long residence in Italy, and his critical knowledge of the language, fitted him for a publick character in that country, and he accordingly obtained the appointment of ambassador to Genoa.

No man was better adapted to his new situation*, and the late changes in the south of Europe may be

* He was sent on purpose to assist in revolutionizing Italy.

fairly traced to the operations of his administration.

No sooner had he arrived at Genoa than he granted his protection to every oppressed patriot in that petty republick. He even instituted a club in the house of an apothecary, named Morando, where all the young men who affected literary attainments (some of them appertaining to the highest class of nobility) held their meetings.

From this time, Tilly might have been justly stiled the *Scourge of the Genoese aristocracy*; and all the subsequent acts of his embassy rendered him truly worthy of that appellation. When the senate expostulated with him about his encouraging these democratical meetings, he replied, "that so many societies existed in Genoa with a view to revile and disgrace the French principles, that it was not to be wondered if one was formed in order to apologise for them."

A Genoese clergyman, named the *Abbé Lombardi*, employed by him in the capacity of secretary for the Italian dispatches, being suspected to act as one of the *propagandists*, was taken into custody by order of the government: Tilly on this instantly reclaimed him as a person appertaining to the French embassy. The senate replied, that no subject of the Genoese republick was permitted to spread principles tending to its subversion. Tilly rejoined, that as the persons attached to the ambassadors of all the crowned heads residing in Genoa professed the principles of their respective governments, it was but

fair for the French envoy to keep in his service such as were attached to the politicks of France.

About this time the right wing of the army of Italy, in order to facilitate an attack on *Col de Tende*, *Saorgio*, &c. belonging to the king of Sardinia, had marched through the territory of *Vintimiglia*, and thus openly violated the Genoese neutrality. The senate, having complained anew on this occasion, Tilly answered, that it ought to permit this violation with the same indifference that it had allowed a similar one in the course of the preceding year on the part of the Sardinian troops, while on their march to *Onelle*.

The Austrian general, Baron de Vins, intending to take possession of some towns in the western *Riviera*, *Ricord*, *Salicetti*, and *Albitte*, the representatives of the French people with the army of Italy made great preparations to preoccupy the same, and all the republican troops instantly moved towards the interior of the territory of Genoa.

The senate required from Tilly a categorical explanation of these movements. "I will willingly give," said Tilly, "my explanation, when the senate has given me, on their part, a similar one relative to the intentions of the coalesced powers."

As he was zealous, active, and energetick, beyond description, for the dignity and interests of the new republick, it happened that he very often hazarded opinions inconsistent with the established relations between the two countries, and utterly incompatible with the law of nations. The senate at one time in-

sisting

sisting on the strict observance of the existing treaties, "the French nation," replied Tilly, "acknowledges no treaty stipulated on the part of their kings.—The people," he added, "have taken arms in order to assert *their rights*, and they will *never lay them down until their political relations are founded on a better basis.*"

Justice also requires us to observe, that he did not always attend to the punctilios of diplomatick decorum.

In his dress *à la Carmagnol**, he was accustomed to receive the visits of the most distinguished members of the diplomatick body; he waited on the senate, in the national palace, in a black neck handkerchief and pantaloons, and directed the French agents in the neighbouring towns never to pull off their hats when they had occasion to call on the magistrates and governors, although they were of the most noble families in Genoa, such as Doria, Pallavicini, Spinola, &c.

His ardent character sometimes induced Tilly to trespass on the laws of his country. At one period of the revolutionary government, the Convention passed a decree, forbidding aliens coming from countries at war with France to enter the territories of the republick; and the French agents and magistrates were declared responsible for the execution of it. Tilly, paying no attention to the will of the

* In vest, pantaloons and sabre, with a large three-coloured cockade.

legislature, granted passports to all the Italian patriots, whether Tuscans, Romans, Neapolitans, or Piedmontese, all of whom appertained to inimical countries.

It happened about this time that a Sicilian clergyman, named the Abbé Sotira, being persecuted by the government of Naples on account of his democratick sentiments, found means to escape to Genoa, and asked for a passport to France; on obtaining it he repaired to Oneille.

Some French merchants residing in Genoa were the enemies of Tilly. They had been in Naples, and known this very Abbé, who, in order to avoid the impending proscription, had written a work, entitled—"The rights of man confuted." They availed themselves of this pretext, to satisfy their animosity, and accordingly wrote a formal denunciation to Buonarroti, at that time national agent at Oneille, stating that Sotira was a man of a suspicious character. Buonarroti, naturally violent and impetuous, instantly issued orders for a domiciliary visit, and unfortunately for Tilly, the very manuscript of "the Rights of Man confuted," was found in his possession.

Buonarroti immediately committed him to prison, sent intelligence of the event to the committee of publick safety, and had not the 9th Thermidor intervened, Sotira would have been sent to the guillotine, and Tilly himself would have suffered disgrace at least, on account of the excess of his zeal. By the
bye,

bye, this same Sotira was really a patriot*, and a writer of some consideration. He lived some time in this country, and on his return to the continent, in 1789, he published a political work in Paris, entitled—*La Décadence de l'Angleterre*.

But if the 9th *Thermidor*, secured Tilly from the dangerous effects resulting from the animosity of his countrymen in Genoa, it was likely to involve him in the hatred of the *Thermidoreans*, against the *sanfculotterie*. This actually proved to be the case. Tilly was recalled, and no sooner had he reached Nice, than he was disgracefully seized by the national *gendarmes*, and conveyed a prisoner to Paris. It was not a little astonishing to behold the new members of the Committee of Publick Safety, acting in this manner, against a man who had so ably and successfully served the republick abroad.

Soon after this, the Committee of Government, sent a new ambassador (M. Villard) to Genoa, who in their name, publicly and officially disavowed all “the extravagancies” of his predecessor, and assured the senate that he was still lying under their displeasure.

An account of the humiliations endured by Tilly in Paris, during the spring and summer of 1795, would be equally tedious and disagreeable. It is sufficient to observe, that the official accounts of his administration in Genoa, were exposed to the cen-

* The attack on the *rights of man*, was written from policy, not principle, it being penned with a view to save his life.

sure of the lowest clerks of the financial departments and revised with the most rancorous scrupolosity.

The *Thermidoreans*, indeed, went so far, as to deprive him of his arms, and exclude him from service in his own section, on account of his having been in the technical language of that period, "*a terrorist and a bad citizen.*" In short, he was at last obliged to secure himself from the insults of the Parisian youth, by retiring to the town of St. Germain, twelve miles distant from the metropolis.

The *Thermidorean* re-action ceased to influence the French government, in October 1795, and the unjust persecutions to which many of the most zealous patriots had been exposed during the preceding twelve months, were felt by the directory, the two councils, and the people at large.

On the return of Tilly to Paris, he was received with universal respect. The executive offered to appoint him *minister of police*, but he protested that he would not accept the place. On its being proposed to send him once more ambassador to Genoa, or any other of the Italian courts, he also declined the proposal with that uncommon perseverance so peculiar to his character.

Since that time, he has not evinced the least anxiety for any sort of employment. Being asked the reason of so much apathy, he told his friends, "that he was very glad to have once served his native country, but he would never appear on the publick stage again, before the revolutionary storms had entirely subsided."

Tilly

Tilly is a man of about fifty years of age, short stature, thin, swarthy complexion, and forbidding look. He is noted for the plainness of his dress; the seriousness of his countenance; and the frankness of his sentiments.

VADIER,

Was considered as a man of the strictest integrity, a learned civilian *, and an able magistrate antierour to the fall of the throne. He was appointed a deputy to the National Convention, from the department *de l'Arriege*, and it may not be unworthy of remark, that all the members of this department, were usually considered as *mountaineers*, in every sense of the word.

Vadier distinguished himself as one of the *Decemvirs* during the reign of terrour, and, after the shifting of the political scene, became one of those subjected to the Freronian persecution.

This is little to be wondered at, as he had appertained to the committee of general security, and participated in all the violent proceedings of his colleagues, and the Convention at large.

It is allowed, however, even by his enemies, that his *motives*, throughout the whole of his publick life, nay, even when notoriously faulty, were unexceptionable; he was also one of the few plain

* He was *Conseiller à Pamiers*.

and honest men, who conscientiously execrated Robespierre, and, from the love of justice and virtue alone, contributed to the downfall of that odious tyrant.

During periods of civil discord, men are frequently deaf to the voice of reason. The more Vadier was respectable, the more he was reviled, abused, insulted, vilified; and the *Freronian* journal, *L'Orateur du Peuple* will always be considered as a mortifying record of the injustice and ingratitude of the French nation.

Vadier supported the most bitter invectives with a prudence and resignation which could have originated in a conscious integrity alone. One day, however, he could not refrain from exclaiming, in the hall of the Convention—"Je n'aurois jamais cru que mes compatriotes recompenseroit de cette maniere *mes soixante ans de vertus**!"

These words served only to excite murmurs and laughter in the Assembly; to supply Freron and his party with new topicks of ridicule, and to afford to the Parisian youth the proverb of *les soixante ans de vertus de Vadier*.

The 12th Germinal at length arrived, and Vadier, with his colleagues, Collot, Billaud, and Barrere, were condemned to transportation. Some time after, a decree of accusation was enacted against them, and orders given for their trial before the Tribunal *de la Charente Inférieure*; Vadier and Barrere, how-

* "I never could have supposed that my countrymen would have thus recompensed sixty years of virtue."

ever, found means to effect their escape. From that time the former has become so obscure, that if his name had not been occasionally mentioned, some months since, by a French journalist, one would have been tempted to suppose that he had ceased to exist.

DE LA CROIX,

Or, as he is now called, LA CROIX,

Is a Parisian by birth, and, previously to the revolution, was a secretary *de la connétablie* in the capital. This was a species of military magistracy, which exercised a certain jurisdiction relative to points of honour, *étiquette*, duelling, &c. and it was composed of all the marshals of France.

Charles la Croix had a seat, but never made a great figure in the Constituent Assembly. In the Convention he was a deputy from the department *de la Marne*, and being a *mountaineer*, he was very much attached to Collot d'Herbois and Thuriot, under the presidentships of whom, in 1793, he was twice elected secretary. He was also sent on mission to several departments.

If the career of this representative had ended with the functions of a legislator, his name would have been plunged in the deep oblivion to which that of thousands of his colleagues are condemned. But, in October 1793, he happened to be appointed Minister of the French Republic for the department of foreign
affairs,

affairs, whence may be dated that very equivocal kind of celebrity that has attached to his person.

Unfortunately for him, in this exalted situation, he was exposed to the scrutinizing eyes of mankind. Yes, *unfortunately for him*, because, in the capacity of a minister, he occasionally displayed such a complete ignorance of geography and diplomatick affairs, as to become proverbial, and to render himself the scorn of his countrymen at home, and the disgrace of the French abroad. In short, he was commonly termed *Pimbécille la Croix*.

The writer of this article knows to a certainty that he supposed Tuscany to be a city, and imagined that Naples belonged to the King of Sardinia!

What is almost incredible, though recorded in his own dispatches, he once sent to Barthelemy, then ambassador in Switzerland, a copy of an *arrêté* of the Directory, with an injunction to notify it to the Senate of Berne! This exposed him of course to the most humiliating animadversions on the part of the Swiss government, which, in its remonstrances, observed, that the Cantons neither formed a French district, nor the Minister Plenipotentiary a *buisfier** of a tribunal.

And when the inhabitants of the Prussian dominions, on this side of the Rhine, *provisionally* ceded to France by the treaty of Bâle, went into mourning for the Prince-Royal in 1796, he was so foolish

* A serjeant, or mace bearer.

as to send an order to the French Commissary at Cleves, to prohibit this mark of respect! The late King of Prussia was greatly offended at this conduct, and was near revenging it by an open rupture!— Upon this, Perlet the journalist observed, “*Tôt ou tard nous sentirons que ce n’est pas impunément que nous pouvons mettre un imbécille à la tête des affaires étrangères* *.”

Charles La Croix, notwithstanding this, continued to exercise his functions as a minister; but it was merely owing to his *republicanism* that he preserved his place; for he possessed no other qualification whatever. He was dismissed, however, in June 1797, in order to make room for M. Tayllerand, and was sent soon after as ambassador to the Batavian Republick. He was judged by the Directory to be the best tool for bringing about a new revolution against the moderates and the Stadtholderians, by means of a *coup de main*, or, to speak more properly, to effect an 18th *Fructidor* in Holland. On this occasion he proved wonderfully successful, and the legislative body as well as the other constituted authorities were, in the language of the day, *completely purified*.

It was, however, heard with equal astonishment and indignation, that among the Dutch moderates, accused and persecuted by him, was the gallant General *Däendels*, one of the firmest patriots during the contest of 1787; who had served as a commander of a bri-

* We shall learn, sometime or another, that the direction of foreign affairs cannot be entrusted to a weak man with impunity.

gade under Pichegru, and to whose zeal and exertions the French are chiefly indebted for their entrance into Holland!

Charles La Croix was about to set off for Vienna, in order to replace Bernadotte, when a new revolution took place, under his eye, without his sanction, and in express contradiction to his opinions.

The brave Däendels, shocked at the proconsular enormities of the French minister, had repaired to Paris, and represented his administration in so true, and therefore so odious a light, that the Directory seems to have entrusted him with a *carte blanche*.—He accordingly returned with secret, but unlimited powers, and the patriots of 1787 have once more triumphed, in spite of all the arts and opposition of the Minister.

La Croix is about fifty years of age, sober, active, and laborious, but ignorant, presumptuous, and devoid of talents.

He has lately returned to Paris, and been succeeded in his mission to Holland by Roberjot.

BOURSAULT,

Like Collot d'Herbois and Fabre d'Eglantine, was a performer, and a man of great abilities in his own line.

Finding himself unable to obtain a fortune in his native country, he became manager of a French company of players, with which he repaired to Italy
in

in quest of bread. On this occasion he assumed the name of Malherbes.

Having at length established himself in Naples, he was appointed by his Sicilian Majesty *director of the French theatre* in that metropolis. He was not beloved however by his fellow-performers, who were piqued at the superiority of his genius, nor did he experience much friendship on the part of the Neapolitan nobility, to whom he never paid that humiliating homage which they had obtained from his predecessors. These two bodies were too powerful for him to oppose, and at the end of the third year (in 1788) he was dismissed by the King, and sent back to France. On that event taking place, the hatred of his foes was fully gratified; but not content with their success, they contrived to render their enmity proverbial; for when speaking of an enemy, they always said,—“ Il est mauvais sujet comme Malherbes.”

It is a common observation in the history of mankind, that some accidents, apparently detrimental, often prove uncommonly fortunate. Had not Bourfault lost his place in Naples, he would have continued a performer during his whole life.

Having repaired to Paris, he became a partisan of *the new order of things*. In consequence of this, he was received into the society of the “ Friends of Liberty,” and permitted to display his eloquence, already improved by the declamation of the stage. He was the intimate friend of Collot d’Herbois, and it was suspected that he had some share in the patriotick

plays and many other works published by him between the years 1789 and 1792.

It is to the friendship of Collot, that Boursault was indebted for his appointment as a deputy from the department of Paris to the National Convention. But although a zealot of liberty, he did not act a considerable part during the two first years of the duration of the legislative body. So many persons of superiour abilities were competitors for the civick crown, that there was neither room nor occasion for the exertions of Boursault.

In the spring of 1795, he at length emerged from obscurity. At that period he was sent on mission to several departments, to appease the animosities engendered between the *Terrorists* and the *Thermido-reans*, and he acted with equal sagacity and success. On his return to Paris, during the summer of the same year, he made several motions, and delivered many speeches in the hall of the Convention, relative to all the interesting subjects then *in the order of the day*.

In the autumn of 1795, a more serious task was assigned to Boursault. He was then sent to the South of France, in order to quell the rebellion of the royalists, known under the name of *La Campagne de Jesus*. On that occasion he established his residence at Avignon, and adopted measures so very mild and wise, that the insurgents soon returned to their duty.

Boursault was certainly one of those few deputies who never employed terrour and ferocity in their
8 missions,

missions, and he deserved therefore the esteem and the affection of the departments governed by him.

At the nomination of the first third of the new constitutional legislature, he was unanimously elected a member of the Council of Five Hundred, by the department of Vaucluse. But as there was a law enacted during his residence in the south, that no representative on mission could be appointed a deputy to the legislature for the departments where he happened to exercise his proconsulship, this election was declared void by the present directory, and Boursault himself was too much of an honest man to insist on its validity.

This deputy, like a considerable portion of his colleagues, has not been spared by the disaffected royalists, and aristocrats. They have accused him of being a great intriguer, and asserted that he has acquired considerable riches by the revolution. A bitter philippick was lately pronounced against him at Paris, on account of his having purchased, by means of *assignats*, and *mandats*, the beautiful country seat of Monfieu: (the present pretender) at Brumoi. It was, however, found, after due inquiry, that this royal country seat, like the rest of the national property, was sold by publick auction.

Boursault is a man of about fifty, above the middle size, of a thin make, and a swarthy complexion. He is extremely polite, and ever officious in conversation, and possesses some share of that quality which the French call—*la tournure maligne de l'esprit* *.

* A witty malignity.

DUHEM.

The name of this deputy is not entitled to great celebrity in the annals of the French revolution, because he never occupied any situation of an important nature. But his steady character, his zealous patriotism, and the courage which he exhibited amid the greatest dangers, deserve encomium, and will not be forgotten when the history of the revolution shall be written by a philosophical pen.

Duhem is a native of Lille in Flanders, and a physician: he was appointed a deputy to the national convention, where, so late as the winter of 1795, he made no figure, though he was perfectly known to be a violent mountaineer in consequence of his motion in the society of "Liberty and Equality."

It was not until the suppression of that famous club that Duhem emerged from obscurity; and it is a fact worthy of observation, that the Thermidorean party prevailed on the convention to annihilate it, merely in order to get rid of a powerful political meeting, whose members, with all their faults, had hitherto been the incorruptible supporters of political equality, the zealots of the revolution, and the defenders of the democracy established by the constitution of 1793.

Another colour, however, was given to this innovation. It was asserted that the club ought to be shut up in order to remove the odium which Robespierre had thrown upon it, by the incorporation
of

of so many unworthy persons, and to enable the powers at war to make a peace consistent with their dignity, which had been so grievously offended by the Jacobins. These reasons were certainly not satisfactory, at least to the clubbists, and Duhem was heard to say more than once,—“ I will tell you the motive of their conduct: they have shut the doors of the Jacobin Society, in order to open those of the Temple,” This was the prison where the young Louis XVII. was confined.

Every sensible man is compelled to avow, that the many irregular and mysterious modes adopted by the National Convention to destroy Jacobinism, and to stifle the first democratical constitution, gave rise to the violent struggles between the Thermidoreans and the Mountaineers, as well as among the republicans at large. This contest lasted for more than a year, having endured from September 1794 to October 1795.

Had they fairly declared that it was their intention to make some slight alteration in the republican code, the Jacobins would in all probability have acquiesced, and the royalists could certainly have conceived no hopes of re-establishing the ancient government. Thus the disastrous epochs of the 2d Germinal, 1st Prairial, and 13th Vendemiaire, would have been avoided.

The Mountaineers, haunted with the idea of the return of royalty, an event so closely connected with their own punishment, used their utmost efforts to vilify the Convention in the eyes of the French people.

But as the greatest part of them had been employed either in the publick administration or in mission to the departments, and feared of course to be accused of some misconduct by the agents of the now predominant faction, they resolved to choose among themselves an unexceptionable individual who should publicly raise his voice and vociferate their grievances in the hall of the convention.

No man was better calculated than Duhem to answer their purpose.

Regularly every morning, from January to April 1795, this deputy spoke his sentiments with a firmness of mind which evinced a man of sound principles and a steady character. Some of his phrases deserve to be noticed. One day, turning to Tallien, he said, *Le sommeil des patriots est le calme du lion : prends garde à toi, scélérat* *. Another day he observed to Legendre, *Il est clair q' on veut rétablir la royauté : mais je le jure, au nom d'un million de sansculottes qui sont sous les armes, que la contre-révolution ne se fera pas* † ! And when Professor Lacroix was acquitted by the new revolutionary tribunal of the charge brought against him for having published the work called *Le Spectateur Français : le royalisme*, said he, *et l'aristocratie triomphent ; la persécution est dressée contre les patriotes ; il vaut*

* "The sleep of the patriots, is like the tranquility of the lion — take care then, of thyself, ruffian !"

† It is clear that there exists a design to re-establish royalty : but I swear in the name of a million of armed *sansculottes*, that a counter revolution shall not take place.

mieux être Charette que député *. These high-spirited sallies cost him at one time his liberty.—Rovere, who was really a royalist, had endeavoured to render the name of Duhem odious even to the Jacobins, and went so far as to assert, in the hall of the convention, that some letters from him to the emigrants in Switzerland had been intercepted. Duhem, drawing his sabre from the scabbard, exclaimed “*Rovere me calomnie : ou qu’il prouve ce qu’il a avancé, ou que je l’assassine † !*” A thousand voices were suddenly heard exclaiming,—*À l’Abbaye ! à l’Abbaye !* and the president was obliged to commit him to prison. To do justice to the moderation of the National Convention, his confinement was very short, for at the end of the fourth day he re-appeared in the hall amidst the most lively acclamations.

The 12th Germinal at length arrived, and there is little doubt but that Duhem and all the Mountaineers were at the bottom of the popular insurrection which took place on that day. The National Convention, which had adopted a lenient mode of governing, and had rendered the Jacobins odious, because their reign was stigmatized with terror and blood, felt itself indisposed to act severely with them, and Duhem, Chodieu, Gaston, and

* Royalty and Aristocracy triumph. The patriots are persecuted and it is now better to be Charette than a deputy.

† Rovere calumniates me, and if he does not prove what he asserts, I will assassinate him.

all the chiefs of the Jacobins, were provisionally transported to the castle of Ham in Picardy.

This second confinement lasted until the month of *Vendémiaire*, when he was delivered by virtue of the decree passed during the last sitting of the Convention, which granted a general amnesty to all persons guilty of revolutionary crimes. In the strict sense of the word, Duhem was never guilty of any crime whatever; he was only chargeable with misconduct.

Soon after his deliverance, he received from the Directory a marked proof of their esteem; for he was appointed first physician (*médecin en chef*) to the army of the Rhine. To his superior abilities and exertions is owing the extinction of a contagious disease which ravaged that army after the defeat of Pichegru by the Austrian General Clairfait, and the precipitate retreat from the right banks of the Rhine.

We are not informed whether Duhem be still first physician to the army; but we have strong reasons to suppose that he did not retain that situation during the whole of last year.

The editor of the Parisian journal, entitled *Le Semainier*, stated, that during the struggles between the present executive and the royalist party in the legislature, which led to the crisis of the 18th Fructidor, Duhem was seen in Paris with other patriots, all of whom were invited thither by the directory to assist them in the contest.

Duhem

Duham is a tall, stout man about forty. When in the convention, he was remarkable for always wearing the national military dress, a large cocked hat, and a long sabre.

MERCIER.

The name of this worthy man deserves to be as celebrated in the annals of the French revolution, as it was, previously to it, in the empire of philosophy and belles-lettres.

He is a native of Compeigne, a small town in the *Isle de France*, eighteen leagues from Paris, much celebrated in the history of the middle ages for having been the usual residence of the Merovingian kings, and known in modern times as a favourite country seat of the Capetian race.

Mercier was soon discovered to be a man of sense and feeling, being in possession of a masculine understanding and a refined taste. He was one of the first French dramatists who introduced on their national stage a taste for the English compositions, which they technically term *Comédies Larmoyantes*.

His plays, such as *le Déserteur Français*, *le Fabricant Anglois*, *l'Indigent*, and others, are acknowledged to be all excellent productions of their kind. But this species of theatrical performance was never heartily relished by the French nation at large: "It is very odd," said the critics of that day, "that we should adopt the English melancholy on our stage, while the English themselves do their utmost to introduce

to introduce the French gaiety and mirth upon theirs."

Mercier enjoyed the esteem of Voltaire, the French Sophocles. If the author of this article remembers aright, (for the quotation is from memory) among the familiar letters of this immortal writer, there is an epistle addressed to Mercier, in which he approves highly of his exertions, and concludes with one of the humorous phrases so congenial to him "*—Nous sommes tous les enfans d'Apollon. In domo patris mei mansiones multæ sunt. Vous n'êtes pas mal logé; mais que fait ce maraud de Freron qui est dans la cave?*"

In the progress of his literary career, Mercier, about the year 1775, published his most voluminous work entitled, "*Le Tableau de Paris.*" This was intended as a picture of the licentious manners of the court of Versailles, the profligate dissipation of the nobility of both sexes, and the revolting distress to which all persons were condemned, who were not supported by a powerful protection at court.

M. Mercier, has perhaps exaggerated something, owing to his feelings for the miseries of human nature, when struggling under the rod of despotism. But every honest mind shuddered at the many *real* horrors depicted in the Tableau.

The veteran officers of the royal army, who had devoted the whole of their youth to the service of their king, were not rich enough to keep a maid or employ a laundress. On the contrary, they themselves were actually accustomed to sneak out under
cover

cover of night, in order to fetch water from the neighbouring pumps, and to carry it home on their own shoulders, that they might thus enable their wives to wash their linen. The young officers, were also condemned to lead an immoral life, in consequence of poverty and neglect, and were induced by distress, either to become gamesters or *souteneurs* *, a French name for no very honourable profession.

This work rendered the name of Mercier illustrious, throughout Europe. It was considered as the production of a sensible, feeling, and virtuous man, indignant at the evils and corruptions of civil society; of a philosopher versed in morals, civil law, and political economy. It proved, however, exceedingly disastrous to him in his native country, for a decree of the parliament of Paris was issued for his apprehension, and he would have certainly ended his life in the Bastile, had he not been lucky enough to effect his escape from the dominions of France.

Having retired to Switzerland, he continued his literary pursuits in the same line of poetical, moral, and political exertions. It was there he published some more of his comedies, and also *mon Bonnet de Nuit*, in 2 vol. 8vo. his *Fictions Morales*, 3 vol. in 8vo. and his *Songes et Visions*, 2 vol. in 12mo.

The best, however, of his works printed in that country, and which indeed achieved his reputation was *L'an 2440*, in 3 vol. 12mo. It is political

* A kind of bullies.

fiction, according to which a Frenchman who had lived about the middle of the eighteenth century, is supposed to return back from the other world, to contemplate the state of his native country, after a lapse of four hundred and fifty years. He meets with neither priests, nor magistrates, nor nobles, nor financiers; no one establishment produced by avarice, vanity, or ostentation: all these are annihilated! "Je vois Versailles," says the author of this truly prophetic work, "Je vois Versailles, je n'y trouve que des ruines. Où est donc ce cabinet qui faisait trembler l'Europe?"

Great attention was paid to it at the beginning of the revolution, when so many of the author's predictions were fully accomplished. Mercier was certainly a good prophet, but his revelations were fulfilled more than four centuries before the time allotted for their completion.

To the eternal glory of the members of the constituent assembly it will always be recorded, that no sooner were they emancipated from the influence of the court, than they signalized their career by an act of publick gratitude towards those illustrious men who had contributed to the attainment of liberty by the dissemination of liberal principles even in the worst times of the monarchy. They repealed all laws, edicts, and decrees, for the exile and confinement of the philosophers, and Raynal, Linguet, Mercier, &c. were allowed once more to repair to Paris, and enjoy the fruits of that Freedom for which they had endured so many persecutions. Mercier
also

also returned thither, and continued his literary pursuits.

The first labours of M. Mercier, after the revolution, consisted of a periodical publication entitled *Les Annales Patriotiques et Littéraires* *, intended for the further propagation of those principles of patriotism and liberty, professed in his preceding books. His superiour abilities, added to these new exertions, obtained him an honourable appointment, that of deputy from his native province, known, in the new French Geography, by the name of the *Département de Seine et Oise*.

He did not, however, act a considerable part in the convention, and he soon afforded a decided proof, that the literary character, is not always adapted for a popular assembly. His virtue, and justice, however, exposed him to the rage of the mountaineers. Being one of the 73 deputies who signed the famous protest against the imprisonment of the Girondists, he was arrested, along with his unhappy colleagues, and would certainly have been sent to the guillotine, if Robespierre had but lived a little longer. To get rid of him, the tyrant was used to say, “ Il faut que le jury de l’opinion publique se prononce contre lui.”

The sentiments expressed by Mercier in the convention, soon after his deliverance, are worthy of record: “ Thirteen months of a severe confinement,”

* Carra assisted him in conducting this newspaper, which was always decidedly democratick.

said he, "far from having overcome my constancy and courage, in behalf of the laws and of justice, have tended only to redouble them in favour of true liberty, which I have so long studied, and shall never forsake."

Mercier after this, once more devoted his time and labours to the service of his native country in his usual track of literary and philosophical efforts.

In January, 1795, he undertook another periodical work, entitled "*La Tribune des hommes libres*," and chose for his colleague, in the political part, the citizen Desodoards, known in the literary world by his "*Continuation de l'abrégé chronologique du Président Hénaut*."

"*L'ame du Lecteur*," says Mercier in the prospectus of the work "subjuguée par le tableau d'une si étonnante révolution, la compare à ces incroyables phénomènes qui changerent autrefois la configuration physique du globe que nous habitons L'Europe, attentive aux moindres particularités d'un mouvement colossal, dont on ne trouve aucun modèle dans les annales du monde, se partage entre la crainte et l'espérance."

The then situation of public affairs proved highly favourable to this new publication. It was the time of the Thermidorean reaction, and one of the principal subjects of contest, was the restoration of the freedom of religious worship. M. Mercier became the champion of this freedom, and the subsequent numbers of his work, contained admirable strictures on the various religions professed by mankind.

“When we have been once instructed by experience,” said he, “we are no longer permitted to dream with philosophy. It is not in our power to create a nation of well informed men, and among the multitude of citizens there will always be found a numerous class irrevocably condemned to ignorance, the mother of all vices and all crimes. There is therefore but one single way to teach duties to those who are precluded from better information. Such were the principles of Zoroaster, Numa, Minos, &c.

Mere Deism is nothing more than an opinion: an opinion relates to the understanding alone. Religion is a sentiment; it ought to speak to the imagination and to the heart.”

It was a pity that such a deputy as Mercier should have so little preponderance in the assembly. His colleagues thought at one time to render him of some weight, without withdrawing him from his philosophical and literary pursuits. They accordingly appointed him a member of the committee of public instruction.

The fact is, however, that even in this capacity the part performed by Mercier was insignificant. Although he evinced as much assiduity and zeal as any of his colleagues, he never took the trouble to make a single speech in the committee, or a report in the convention. He suffered every thing to be conducted by Gregoire, Lakanal, and, what is worse, by Massieu and Bariallon, persons of far inferior capacity.

In the spring of 1795, this oppugner of monarchy was suspected to be a royalist, and he had indeed given rise to suspicions of this kind by some of his periodical publications. He was therefore exposed to the revilings of the Jacobin journalists, who satirically observed, "that Mercier having been a republican under the monarchy, ought to be permitted to become royalist under the republick." He at that time took no notice whatever of this sarcasm, but he afterwards made some complaints on the subject to one of his colleagues in the committee. "I never was a royalist," said he, "nor shall I ever become one. My opinion, as a representative of the people, was always in favour of a republican form of government. Nothing, however, can prevent me from asserting in my writings, that the existence of a king is not utterly inconsistent with liberty and patriotism."

At the beginning of the year 1796, Mercier was appointed a member of the national institute, and after the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, he became the chief conductor of a journal entitled *Le bien Informé*, a paper in the interest of the present government; it is pregnant with those philosophical sentiments which characterise all the writings of the author. He is an enthusiastick admirer of Buonaparte, because this general, says he, *does much and talks little*. This is perhaps, also, a description of his own character."

Mercier is about sixty years of age, of a tall and majestick size, a serious countenance, and a prepossessing

sessing look. He is civil in conversation, but not very talkative.

GAMBACÉRÈS.

The royalists and aristocrats who delight in abusing all the founders of the French republick, are indignant when they find an unexceptionable character among their antagonists.

Cambacérès is one of those who would reflect honour on any species of government, and in whose conduct, whether publick or private, not a single blemish is to be found even by malice itself.

He is a native of Montpellier, son of a counsellor in the *Cours des Aides*, and nephew to the famous Abbé of the same name, who, after being a canon and archdeacon in the cathedral of that place, was promoted to the rank of *Prédicateur du Roi*, the highest dignity to which an eloquent clergyman in France could then aspire.

From his earliest youth Cambacérès was destined for the bar, and he became very shortly a complete master of the civil and canon law. But his active mind did not confine itself entirely to these barren studies. Montesquieu and the school formed by that great man were his instructors and companions, and he had already evinced considerable attainments in the science of politicks and legislation when he was appointed a member of the National Convention.

During the preponderance of the *Gironde*, neither he nor any of his colleagues possessed any great degree of influence in the legislature. This deputy also remained in obscurity during the reign of the *Saniculottes*, with whom violence, cruelty, and injustice were the only qualifications of a senator.

He did not indeed commence his political career until the winter of 1795, but from that time no man perhaps has been more remarkable for the steadiness of his principles in behalf of liberty, and his zealous attachment to a republican government: he has always been the scourge of the Jacobins, but, on the other hand, he never was a flatterer of the royalists.

Being appointed a member of the commission of Twelve, for framing the plan of the new constitution of 1795, he acted as important a part as Boissy d'Anglas, Lanjuinais, and others of his colleagues, and his speeches in the Convention at that time were remarkable for their peculiar wisdom and moderation.

He was also one of the most strenuous supporters of publick credit, when the assignats had fallen into decay; the firmest protector of property against fiscal oppression; and a decided enemy of revolutionary measures. Some of the laws proposed by him were, however, looked upon as too systematical and metaphysical; such, for instance, was the plan for licensing

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ing divorces on account of the *incompatibilité d'humeur* *.

It was generally believed in Paris, during the summer of 1795, that the first members of the executive directory were to be chosen from among those who had been the authors of the constitution; and it was but right indeed that those should superintend the work who had laid its foundations. But as Boissy d'Anglas had always been suspected of being a royalist, and Lanjuinais was superstitiously addicted to the Catholick religion, the current of publick opinion ran decidedly in favour of Cambacérès.

A diabolical intrigue was however formed to baffle his election. The fact has never been publicly mentioned, in this country, but the writer of the present article learned it from a gentleman of great respectability in Paris, on whose authority he can rely.

It is well known to many that during the summer of 1795, a regular correspondence was carried on, through the means of Madame de Stael, between some royalists and moderates in Paris, and the emigrants in Switzerland. A few days before the election of the five directors, it was mentioned in the convention, that certain papers had been discovered relative to this plot, and that the publick welfare required that they should be read in a general committee. This motion was supported by the party in the secret, and on exhibiting them, it was found

* Incompatibility of tempers.

that Cambacérès was mentioned “as an accomplished man, incapable of hurting the royal party.”— This alone was sufficient to deter the legislature from appointing him a director; but it has been since discovered, that the greatest part of the correspondence was forged, expressly for the purpose of casting an odium on a virtuous man.

Cambacérès, in the month of March 1796, was appointed a member of the national institute, and he proved very soon that his extensive mind could embrace literary as well as political transactions. The reflections he delivered in his speech at the first sitting of that celebrated society, in respect to the classification of the several branches of science, and the order of the correspondence, were replete with good sense, and adopted accordingly.

Cambacérès is a modest, unassuming man; his dress is very plain, and perhaps a little too much neglected; he loves meditation, and delights in solitary walks; is about forty-five years old, of a middle size, and a thin, pale, countenance.

LAKANAL.

This is one of the most determined republicans in France.

He is a native of a small town in the ci-devant province of Foix, and was formerly a priest. His principles, decidedly democratical, induced the electoral assembly of his native country, now known
by

by the name of *le Département de l'Arriège*, to appoint him a deputy to the National Convention.

Lakanal is said to have commenced his political career with a pamphlet published in Paris, in the month of January 1793, some days previously to the trial of the king, bearing the title of *Essai sur la Conjuration de la Maison Capetienne contre la Liberté Publique*. The motto was taken from a tragedy of Seneca—*Victima haud ulla amplior potest, magisque opima mactari quam Rex*.

On that awful day which was to decide the fate of Louis, while some deputies declared for exile, some for confinement, and others for an appeal to the people, Lakanal, when he was to give his vote, started from his seat, and shaking his hat very violently, delivered only these few memorable words—*Les républicains parlent peu : Mort !* This fact is recorded in the *Procès Verbal*, and also in the *Moniteur*.

It was long before Lakanal acted any conspicuous part in the convention. In the month of August 1793, during the presidency of Robespierre and Billaud Varenne (that is to say, in the greatest heat of *sanfculotisme*) he was appointed one of the secretaries of the legislative body, jointly with Amar, Leonard Bourdon, Duhem, Garnier, &c. On the death of Fabre d'Eglantine, which occurred in the succeeding year, he was nominated a member of the first section of the committee then employed on the important object of public instruction, the organization of schools, and the publication of elementary books.

From

From that moment the exertions of Lakanal were solely directed to the benefit and glory of his native country. In his zeal originated the noble plan of (*l'Ecole Normale*) the Normal School, to which sixteen of the greatest literary characters in France were attached as professors, and all the learned men in the departments were to be sent thither as students, in order that one general mode of instruction might prevail throughout the whole extent of the republick.

Lakanal had of course the honour to be elected a superintendent, together with his colleague Mr. de l'Eyre, and on the day of inauguration delivered a speech to the professors and students which reflected the greatest honour on his abilities and patriotism.

Having just mentioned M. de l'Eyre, and being unable to assign a separate article to this respectable character, I shall here observe, by the bye, that he was a philosopher of the old school, above sixty years of age; in short, a star in the galaxy of the French philosophers of the last generation. He was an Abbé, fellow of the French Academy, and so early as the year 1754 he had published the Analysis of Lord Bacon's works. He was also an Encyclopedist, and the author of the article *Fanatisme*, which, according to a religious French journalist, *étoit assez fanatique*.

He had likewise written an essay *Sur la Vie de M. Thomas*, and having been appointed, jointly with
Condillac,

Condillac, instructor to the present Duke of Parma, this circumstance gave occasion to Voltaire to remark, in one of his letters to D'Alembert, "*que la philosophie s' toit montrée en Italie, mais la congrégation de l'Index l'avoit proscrite.*" The Abbé de l'Eyre was lastly a deputy to the Convention, and sat in the council of Elders during the subsequent legislature; he is since dead, having breathed his last in 1797.

Immediately after the establishment of the Normal School at Paris, the central schools in the departments were to be organized. Lakanal was the zealous advocate of these munificent establishments in the committee of publick instruction, and afterwards the reporter of the labours of the committee in the Convention.

By a decree of the 7th Ventose, in the third year, these schools were affixed to each department, and Lakanal was sent on mission to a considerable number of them, on purpose to carry the project into execution. He accordingly set out from Paris in the month of April 1795, and displayed much laudable activity on the occasion. The schools, however, were not brought into action, for it was found that some material alterations ought to take place in respect to the distribution of the chairs, and also in the *honorarium* of the professors. The allowances of these latter were fixed at 3000 livres in the small communes, at 4000 in greater towns, and at 5000 in the large cities. The gradual and rapid decay of the assignats soon baffled this scheme, and the French govern-

government reserved the final completion of this grand project for a period of peace and tranquillity.

Lakanal soon after employed his zeal more successfully, by establishing a school for the Oriental languages in the national library; antierior to the revolution, they had been taught in the *college de France*.

He made his report to the national convention on the 10th. Germinal, and after having animadverted on the necessity of encouraging these studies, in order to improve the agents of foreign diplomacy, and to enable the French consuls to act efficaciously for the interests of the republick, he exhibited a geographical chart of all the Oriental languages, entered into a variety of curious particulars respecting them, pointed out the most interesting dialects, and concluded with observing, that though some of these were formerly taught in the *college de France*, they were not attended with success, owing to a variety of reasons, besides the inconvenience of the place.

“ The manuscripts and the printed books in the Oriental languages,” said he, “ were extremely scarce and dear, and both the professors and students were deprived of the proper means of labouring with any prospect of success: The national library alone can afford the necessary elements to this interesting establishment.”

It was accordingly so decreed by the national convention, and the chairs of the vulgar Arab, Tartar, Turkish, Persian, and Malay languages were soon filled with able professors.

A violent storm impended over the head of this deputy, during the summer of 1795. He had been described, by the royalist faction, as an atheist, merely because he had been a mountaineer. He was accordingly exposed to the bitterest revilings, and invectives, and was actually compelled to write his apology, and publish it in printed bills on the walls and avenues of the Palais-Royal and the chief buildings in Paris.

He declared, that he had always deserved well of his country, that he had not acquired a single livre by the revolution, and that his only crime was the having professed republican principles, and voted for the death of "*Le Tyran de sa patrie**." Had the insurgent sections acquired an ascendancy, there is no doubt but Lakanal would have been the first victim.

This deputy was one of the two thirds who remained in the legislative body at the period of the new elections; he accordingly retained his seat in the council of five hundred.

In the sitting of the 14th *Brumaire*, 4th year, he delivered a report on the elementary books presented by several learned men for the first branch of education, in the primary schools. This report was soon printed, jointly with the notice of the books, and a concise encyclopedick map of all the classes and sections of instruction. It is certainly an able composition, on account of the sound judgment and extensive

* The tyrant of his country.

views it displays, and it may perhaps be considered as a great misfortune that it has not yet been translated into English.

It is necessary, however, to state, that Lakanal, notwithstanding his great celebrity abroad, does not enjoy in Paris the reputation of a man of general knowledge. His detractors assert, that his capacity is mean, and that he makes up in zeal and activity, what he wants in talents. They add, that for his scientifick speeches and reports he is indebted to the labours of the literary men who compose the jury of public instruction, under the inspection of the committee, and that he had merely the trouble to get the particulars by heart. But these are vague accusations, which favour more of envy than truth.

It is to be remarked, however, that he was never successful in those motions and speeches delivered before the legislative body, which were not the result of long and sedate meditation. Soon after the revolution of the 13th *Vendémiaire*, which put an end to the perplexity of the republicans, he made a discourse in the convention, tending to destroy all the latent seeds of royalism and aristocracy, to banish all suspected persons, to permit all those dissatisfied with the republican government to emigrate and realise their estates; and in order to prevent seditious meetings in future, he proposed that the *Palais-Royal* should be demolished, as it had always been the focus of every plot and insurrection. The convention was insensible to these propositions. Many of the members were shocked at the idea of destroy-

ing the beautiful and majestic building of the *Palais-Royal*; and Lakanal had the mortification to see his colleagues call for the order of the day.

A short time after this, he moved, that all the young men in Paris should be sent to the army in virtue of the new requisition, and while speaking on the subject, he treated them with great contempt, and termed them *polissons misérables* *. On this occasion also, he received but little encouragement.

The writer of the present article can testify, that M. Lakanal possesses no talents for eloquence. In the month of April 1795, he was one night at the committee of publick instruction, and happened to hear him deliver a speech to his colleagues on the celebration of Decadis. On that occasion, he not only remarked in the orator a deficiency of method, energy, and language, but, as far as a foreigner can judge, he did not even possess that degree of perspicuity so congenial to the French language.

Lakanal is a man about forty, of the middle size, long face, and dark complexion. He is pitted with the small pox. No charge has ever been brought against him on the score of ambition or speculation. He has, however, been often reviled on account of a supposed deficiency in respect to religious principles. The writer of *La Quotidienne*, alluding to the commemoration of the King's execution, on the 21st of January 1797, in the cathedral of Paris, at which

* Despicable wretches.

all the constituted authorities were present, said—
L'Eglise de notre Dame a été le lieu de la fête des Cannibales. Le bon Dieu n'y étoit pas alors : mais le grand-prêtre Sicyes a officié pontificalement, assisté de ses grands-vicaires, le prêtre Lakanal et l'ex-capucin Gumoyard.

Notwithstanding these sarcasms, which add to the merriment of the day, and cease with the laugh to which they give birth, Lakanal will always be respected on account of his learning, quoted on account of his zeal, and if his native country is destined to continue a commonwealth, his name will perhaps descend with praise to posterity, on account of his republican energy.

MEHÉE,

Was formerly a nobleman, and known by the name of *le Chevalier de Latouche*.

Previously to the revolution he travelled through a considerable part of Europe, lived a great many years in Poland, and was an eye-witness to the famous revolution that occurred there in May 1791; in consequence of subsequent events this proved fatal to the independence of that once mighty and gallant nation.

Towards the latter part of the same year, Mehée returned to his native country, where he soon gave a specimen of the information obtained by him during his travels, by a work entitled, *L'Histoire de la prétendue Révolution de Pologne*.

This

This was well received, being the first attempt towards a proper idea of the important object alluded to in the title.

All the intelligence from Warsaw detailed either in the French or English papers, represented the revolution as a master piece of refined policy; but some well-informed people refused to give credit to such exaggerated encomiums, and shrewdly suspected the intrigues of the cabinet of Warsaw. It was reserved for this author to consider the event in its true point of view, for he exhibited the real disposition of the Polish people; he revealed the secret practices of the court, and he discovered the hand that directed the operations of the Diet of Warsaw.

The talents and patriotism of Mehée, added to the fame so recently acquired by him as a judicious writer, called aloud for some considerable employment in the new order of things. Unfortunately, he was appointed along with Tallien, as joint secretary to the municipality of Paris, and some months after thought himself obliged by virtue of his employment, and by the orders of his superiours, to countenance in some small degree, the assassinations of the 2d and 3d of September. This of course has subjected him to the philippicks of the aristocracy, and the marked censures of all honest men.

Mehée continued in the municipality of Paris during the subsequent reign of terrour, and, like a great many others, became a *Dantonist*, being an admirer of the excentrick genius of that extraordinary man. After the death of his political chieftain, this was

considered as an inextinguishable crime in the eyes of Robespierre. Orders were accordingly issued for the arrest of Mehée, and he would have certainly been sent to the fatal guillotine, or waited in confinement for the 9th *Thermidor*, if he had not been able to effect his escape.

It was generally imagined, that he was indebted for the timely intelligence of his danger, to the zeal of his old friend Billaud, a colleague of the Demagogue in the committee of public safety.

Mehée left Paris disguised as a waggoner, by availing himself, on this occasion, of a civick card borrowed from one of his friends, to whom he soon after returned it, enclosed in a letter.

He remained in obscurity, in a small provincial town, not only during the remainder of the dictator's reign, but likewise during the first efforts of the Thermidorean reaction. At length he repaired to Paris in 1795, and applied to Tallien, Louvet, &c. to obtain employment.

His friends were sensible of the justice of his claims, and even deemed it highly important for the interests of the republick, that a man of his abilities should be readmitted into the bosom of their party. The public indignation had already attained its grand object—to crush *terrorisim* or *jacobinism*. But it was feared, lest it should go a little beyond the mark, and excite the love of royalty. To preserve the just medium between these, the committees of government resolved that two or three journalists should be subsidised, with a view of infusing into the minds of
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the French the true spirit of the new constitution.— It was with this intention that Louvet was directed to resume his *Sentinelle*, and Mehée, and Réal (another zealot of republicanism, and formerly an advocate in the parliament of Paris) were charged with the direction of *Le Journal des Patriotes de 1789*.

During the summer of 1795, this paper was in great repute. It was the scourge of the royalists, the aristocrats, the suspected representatives, and all the journalists who professed anti-republican opinions.

It was, however, at the same time greatly censured on account of the sarcasms with which it abounded. M. la Harpe, whose name is another word for academical glory, openly professed *royalism* and *catholicism*; he was actually seen every Sunday at mafs! Mehée, shocked at so notorious an apostacy from his former opinions, called him *le Pere Hilarion la Harpe*, which phrase soon became an epithet of derision in respect to the Nestor of French literature.

When M. Gregoire*, the most respectable man among the clergy of France, issued a pastoral letter, enjoining the celibacy of priests, M. Mehée published an epistle, under the name of *Gratiolet*, a supposed married clergyman, beginning thus:—
J'aime mieux passer mes jours dans les bras d'une épouse légitime, que d'être un prêtre concubinaire comme Monseigneur L'évêque de Blois†. It is but

* Constitutional Bishop of Blois.

† I love better to spend my days in the arms of a legitimate wife, than to live in *concubinage* like the Bishop of Blois.

little wonder if a severe retaliation took place on the part of the aristocratical journalists; they accordingly lavished on him, among other similar epithets, the title of *Mehée, le patriote exclusif de 2de et 3me Septembre.*

By the mere exertion of his natural abilities, Mehée, who had already distinguished himself as a man of letters, proved himself also capable of being a good soldier. On the memorable 13th *Vendémiaire*, while Freron, Buonaparte, Barras, &c. headed the regular troops of the republick against the rebellious sections, Mehée took the command of the Parisian patriots in the garden of the Thuilleries, and acted with so much zeal, sagacity, and intrepidity, on this occasion, that in the opinion of the best military men in France, the volunteers under his command fell little short, in point of bravery, of the veteran soldiers. The committee of general security, in order to afford a proof of its satisfaction, presented him with a beautiful sabre of most exquisite workmanship.

This event occurred at the period of the new elections, and both Réal and Mehée were at that time likely to be appointed deputies to the Council of Five Hundred, either by Paris or the departments. They were, however, excluded by a decree of the Assembly, prohibiting any of the journalists from being members of the new legislature. Their services were rewarded in another way: Réal was created historiographer of the French republick, and Mehée under secretary (*chef de bureau*) of

of war, with appointments to the amount of fourteen thousand French livres.

While acting in this capacity (in Dec. 1795) the latter was sent on a secret mission to Belgium.— The motive of this mission has never transpired; but it was confidently reported that its secret object was to ascertain the intentions of the inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands, who, being intoxicated with the recent victories of Marshal de Clairfait, were contriving plots to throw themselves into the arms of their former masters.

Truth requires us to state that Mehée was about this time charged with peculations to an enormous amount. But this accusation was not only devoid of proof, but it was utterly improbable; for at his return to Paris, he was seen in the same sober track he had pursued previously to his mission. It is, however, worthy of remark, that he never resumed his employment in the office of secretary at war.

These frequent disappointments, perhaps, induced Mehée to participate in the democratical conspiracy attributed to Drouet; and certainly, from his abilities and activity, he must be considered, next to Buonarroti, as the best qualified person for carrying it into execution. He was, however, more shrewd than that Italian; for he kept himself so well concealed behind the curtain, that notwithstanding the most rigorous inquiries on the part of the Directory, and the confinement of the chiefs, it was not before the end of three months that his guilt was detected. Orders were then issued for seizing him; but he was
once

once more fortunate enough to effect his escape from Paris.

He remained in his concealment, like Marius of old, in the marshes of Minturnus, from July 1796, to September 1798. Having formerly availed himself of the aristocratical jubilee of the 9th *Thermidor*, to escape from the vengeance of the terrorists, he now took advantage of the jacobin jubilee of the 18th *Fructidor*, to save himself from the moderates. After this he once more became a man of importance in the Republic; and no sooner was Angereau appointed commander in chief to the army of the Rhine, than he was made secretary-general, a place of high honour and great emoluments.

We do not know what has become of him since the army of the Rhine was suppressed by an *arrêté* of the Directory, and Angereau sent to Perpignan to take the command of the new army of the Pyrenees, destined, as was thought, to march against Portugal.

Mehée is about thirty-six years of age, and one of the handsomest men in Paris. He is rather more than six feet high, well proportioned, has a round face, fair hair, and a smiling and prepossessing countenance. From what we have said of him, it is easy to guess that he is a well-informed, steady republican, and a resolute and active patriot, but, at the same time, a man of immoderate ambition, and of a turbulent and dangerous character.

Just as Mehée was dismissed from the War-office, and consequently not on good terms with the Directory,

tory, the feast of the *national victories* was celebrated in the *Champ de Mars*. Carnot superintended the ceremony, and, by his direction, triumphal arches were erected, with the following haughty inscription:—"ORGUEILLEUX! VOUS COURBEREZ LA TÊTE." A smart epigram, in allusion to the above, soon appeared against Carnot, and Mehée was suspected to be the author of it.

Some days after, M. Carnot's lady was brought to bed. This afforded an opportunity to the witty author of the journal, *Le MESSAGER du Soir*, to make merry at the expence of both. *La Citoyenne Directrice Carnot* (said he) *est accouchée d'un joli petit Directeur. Allons, Mehée! voilà pour le Décemvir, qui ne vous paye plus, le sujet d'une épigramme aussi piquante, pour le moins, que celui de la fête des victoires nationales**.

ROMME.

Gilbert Romme was a native of a small town in the province of the *ci-devant* Auvergne, a man of letters himself, and nephew to the famous Charles Romme, correspondent of the Academy of Sciences, and professor of hydography in the port of Rochfort, who, some years before the revolution, published the

* The Citizen Directress Carnot is just delivered of a handsome little Director. Ah, Mehée! this will be the subject of as bitter an epigram against the Decemvir who no longer pays you, as that furnished by the festival of national victories.

valuable work, entitled “*Dictionnaire de la Marine Française.*”

Gilbert Romme was indebted to his abilities and patriotism for his appointment as deputy to the National Convention for the department of *Puy de Drôme*, which includes the place of his birth.

It is worthy of remark, that he was perhaps the only mountaineer of some weight in the legislature, during the reign of the Girondists; for we find that in April 1793, when Delmas and Lafource were presidents, he was appointed secretary to the Convention, along with Lareveilliere Lepeaux, Gatran, and Doulcet.

At the downfall of the *Gironde*, he acted a more important part, and after the month of *Frimaire*, second year, he himself, more than once, was nominated to the chair of the legislative body.

His literary abilities procured his appointment to the committee of publick instruction. It was strongly reported that he assisted Fabre d'Eglantine in the construction of the new calendar, and that it was he who suggested the idea of marking every day of the year with the name of a plant, and every *quintidi* with that of an animal. This afforded an opportunity to the wits of Paris to remark, that the republicans had made great strides towards civilisation by substituting oxen, asses, and hogs, for St. Jérôme, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustin!

Romme likewise assisted in forwarding Condorcet's plan for publick instruction throughout the whole extent of the commonwealth. It was thought that

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all the ideas relative to the agricultural part of this immense and beneficent scheme appertained to Romme. He acquired, however, a still higher reputation by his *Annuaire du Cultivateur*, which he laid before the legislature, in the sitting of the 30th *Pluviose*, second year. "I present," said he, "to the Convention a work, *in which every thing* has a relation to the first of arts—HUSBANDRY; and I desire you, in the name of the committee of publick instruction, to include this book among the elementary tracts designed for the schools of the republic."

Romme was unconcerned at the fall of Robespierre, to whom he was never personally attached. But he did not behold with the same indifference the returning spirit of royalty and aristocracy, that succeeded the death of that demagogue. He regretted that the republick should be exposed to so many dangers; that the representatives of the people should be persecuted and vilified by their own colleagues; and that the name of a patriot should have nearly become synonymous to that of an assassin and a drinker of human blood.

It is also but justice to observe, that he behaved with the greatest prudence and moderation in his publick capacity, during the summer of 1794 and the winter of 1795. It is, therefore, a pity that he should have been involved in the conspiracy of the 1st *Prairial*, which cost him his life.

It has been so often necessary to recur to this event, and so closely is it connected with the heroick death

of the deputy Romme, that it may not be amiss to mention a few of the particulars here. The writer of this article can relate them with exactness; for he was an eye-witness of the whole catastrophe.

Ever since the 12th *Germinal*, third year, when so many deputies of Robespierre's party were proscribed, a strong ferment had prevailed in Paris, more especially in the suburbs, where Cambon, Rossignol, and other mountaineers, had sought for and found an asylum. It is highly probable that these were the instigators and the contrivers of the insurrection: but whether that be the case or not, the poor inhabitants were daily oppressed and insulted by the Parisian *muscadins*, and the people at large were in a state of distress, little short of *starvation*.

At length, on the 1st *Prairial* 3d year, (19th May 1795) the inhabitants of the suburbs, having taken some cannon from the arsenal, and armed themselves with guns and sabres, to the number of about twenty thousand, marched against the Convention, each of them wearing in his hat a bit of paper, with the inscription—*Du pain et la constitution de 1793* *.

The murder of the representative Ferrand, in the hall of the Convention, the uncommon firmness of the President Boissy d'Anglas, the seditious meeting of the municipality in the Town-hall, the civil war, the victory of the legislature over the rebels, and the other consequences of this dreadful insurrection, stand not in need of peculiar notice in this place.—

* “ Bread and the constitution of 1793 ! ”

Romme, however, and many other jacobin representatives (the last remnant of the Mountain) were accused of a secret correspondence with Cambon, who had hid himself in the *Faubourg St. Antoine*, and also with conniving at the proceedings of the rebels. It was universally reported in Paris (for the writer was not in the hall of the Convention at that time) that they had never seconded the motions of the majority of their colleagues, and that they had whispered to such of the deputies as were next to them,—*Laissez les faire*—"Let the people alone."

It is peculiar to the French revolution, that the most awful events have been conducted with a rapidity beyond the possibility of calculation. No one of them, however, was ever accompanied with such celerity in point of opposition as that experienced by the rebellious sections on the 1st *Prairial*. The commune of Paris was made responsible for every attempt against the representatives of the people; the committees of government were declared to be permanent; the municipal officers, holding their sittings in the Town-hall, were proclaimed out-laws, and fourteen deputies were arrested and confined; of these, eight were so fortunate as to effect their escape. Romme, Bourbotte, Soubrany, and three others, were also seized.

In the next sitting (on the 2d *Prairial*) a decree of accusation was enacted against these six deputies; and as the revolutionary tribunal had then become odious, a military commission was created to try them. This

was the first attempt at a military government since the commencement of the revolution.

The military commission, equally abhorrent to every idea of humanity and justice, did the business full as well, and with as few formalities, as any revolutionary tribunal whatever; for in three or four days the confined deputies were tried and sentenced to death.

Here follows the singular and astonishing anecdote relative to the catastrophe of these brave and unfortunate men.

They were fully sensible of their danger, and some indications had been given to them that their enemies were determined on their death. Although strictly watched by the *gendarmes*, Romme had found means to procure a strong sharp-pointed knife: this he carefully concealed in his pocket without giving the least intimation of the circumstance to his companions.

He afterwards obtained the favour, from the members of the military commission, that they should be placed, during their trial, within a bar, so as to be separated from the *gendarmes*, whose view, he said, was extremely odious to him and his friends. No sooner was the sentence of death read to them, than Romme exclaimed, — “Achevèz, scelerats ! c'en est fait de la liberté ; mais regardez ce que sçavent faire les patriotes*.” Then drawing the knife

* “Finish, ruffians ! there is an end of liberty ; but, behold what patriots can achieve.”

from his pocket, and stabbing himself, he turned towards his companions,—“ Allons mes, camarades !” added he to them, “ suivez mon exemple*.”

Thus the fatal steel, reeking with the blood of the intrepid representative, was handed to all the six in succession, each of them stabbing himself, and reaching it immediately after to his colleague next him.

So ended the lives of Romme and his five colleagues, who thereby set an example of courage and friendship unheard of, in either ancient or modern history, and in comparison to which, the solitary exertions of Mutius Scevola and Attilius Regulus seem to dwindle into insignificance.

Romme and his companions were all of them men of acknowledged honesty, and possessed many eminent virtues. At the time of their death, the publick spirit was so far compressed by the predominant faction, or what might not unjustly be called *the Thermidorean terrorism*, that no man dared to pity them. It was not until the month of November, that a few journalists began to excite the publick commiseration, and it was then stated that the philanthropy of Romme went so far as to refuse a large loaf of bread, sent to him by a friend from Versailles, at the time of the greatest scarcity and distress in Paris, where the allowance of each citizen was only two ounces per day. “ If the people,” said he, “ are doomed to be starved on account of their efforts to recover liberty and equality, their representatives ought to set the first example.”

* “ Come, my friends, follow my example.”

LECOINTRE

Was a rich merchant of Versailles, and a great friend to the revolution, from the first moment of the convocation of the states-general. It is well known that on the famous procession to the church of *Notre Dame*, the adjournment to the *jeu de paume**, and every other important event which took place so long as the national assembly held its sittings in that city, he was the most forward of all the inhabitants to exhibit his attachment to the cause of liberty.

After being appointed a deputy to the convention, he was generally absent on mission to the different departments, and made no figure in the legislative body until the death of Robespierre.

It is but doing him justice to observe, that he was an honest man, who being uninformed of the *Thermidorean* intrigues, rushed into the greatest dangers with the best possible intentions. He was fully convinced of the horrors brought upon his country by the *decemvirs*, but wholly unacquainted with the secret schemes of his colleagues in respect to that faction. Accordingly, he denounced Collot, Barrere, Billaud, and Vadier, a proceeding which was not well received by the convention, for the members exclaimed on every side, (*Les pieces! Les pieces!*) The proofs! the proofs!

* The Tennis Court.

This was not only the subject of great mortification to Lecointre, but indeed some of the more violent mountaineers moved that he should be committed to the Abbaye. He did not, however, relinquish his project; for having at last procured the necessary documents to support every article of his charge, he waited for a more favourable opportunity to renew his accusations; and indeed, in about a month after, he published both his denunciations and the proofs, and presented them to the legislature, at the same time exclaiming aloud to his colleagues, “ I hope you will not now cry, *les pieces! les pieces!* ”

Lecointre afterwards acted with the moderates in order to crush what they called Robespierre’s tail (*la queue de Robespierre.*)

But when he beheld the irregular conduct of the convention respecting Duhem, Chodieu, and so many others, who were condemned to imprisonment in the castle of Ham, without trial, he declared himself hostile to such arbitrary proceedings. The result was, that on the 16th Germinal, four days after the proscription of the mountaineers above mentioned, Lecointre himself was (*décrété d’arrestation*) decreed to be in a state of arrest. This step fully justified his exclamation, at the moment of his seizure in the hall of the convention—“ *Eh viveut les polichinelles mes collègues.*!* ”

* Long live the *punchinelles* my colleagues.

But matters did not stop there. The second popular insurrection (on the 1st Prairial) was directed by Cambon and others, who had taken refuge in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and a decree of accusation was enacted against all those who were provisionally confined, among whom was Lecointre.—The convention, however, evinced no anxiety to bring them to a trial; on the contrary, Lecointre as well as several others were admitted some months afterwards to the benefit of the general amnesty.

Since that period, Lecointre has always been employed in the service of the government, and has conducted himself on every occasion with zeal and ability. The writer of this article was informed at Versailles, that he had been accused of having increased his wealth by the revolution; this, however, is at best but a mere surmise. It is certain, on the other hand, that he is generally beloved, and that it is owing to him that the fine avenues of Versailles, and Marli, did not fall a prey to the *vandalism* that marked the first revolutionary movements.

POULTIER,

Was a nobleman of Avignon, and a Benedictine monk in that city prior to the revolution. He had already attained the reputation of a man of letters, of an excellent poet, and a well-informed historian, when that event took place. He was one of the
most

most strenuous partisans of liberty, and it is partly owing to his zeal and activity, that Avignon and the county of Venaissin, returned under the dominion of France, after having languished during five centuries beneath the authority of the Popedom.

Poultier was the apostle of this revolution. He inflamed the minds of the *Avignoneſe* with a love of liberty, prevailed on them to urge the National Assembly for their re-union, drew up their petitions, and kept up a regular correspondence with the Parisians, in spite of the threats of the Roman prelate, then governor of Avignon.

No ſooner had the National Assembly enacted the law, for re-uniting Avignon to France, than a new career was opened to Poultier. He became an assiduous preacher among the lower classes of the people, and taught them to disregard the Roman bulls, and the thunderbolts of the Vatican. In order to superadd the force of example, to that of instruction, he himself renounced his religious *costume*, and married a nun, whom he took from a convent. He afterwards exerted himself in organizing the national guards, and actually served as a volunteer, during the year 1791.

These important services could not escape the notice of the government, and in the beginning of 1792, we find him appointed to the command of the national guard of Lille, a station which he filled with his wonted zeal and abilities.

It is reported by the royalists, that in the night of August the 13th, three days after the extinction of royalty,

royalty, Poultier ordered a vault, in which was deposited the remains of the ancient counts of Flanders, to be demolished, and fixing the skull of a countess on the point of his sword, repaired to the popular society, swearing that he would serve all the aristocrats in the same manner. They add, that he had recourse to this stratagem, with a view to overawe the opulent inhabitants of Lisle, and to ingratiate himself with the populace, in order to procure himself to be appointed a member of the National Convention.

Poultier remained inactive during the year 1793, and the greater part of 1794, while the parties of the Girondins, the Terrorists, and the Thermidoreans were agitating and destroying the republick, one after another.

Towards the end of that period, however, we find him acting a more conspicuous part in the convention.

In 1795, he was sent on mission, first to his native country, and afterwards to the southern provinces of France, and the new conquests made from the Sardinian states. He found royalty and popery triumphant in the former, while in the latter, the abuses of the administrators, added to the scandalous behaviour of the purveyors, and conductors of military stores, had alienated the minds of the people, and raised up innumerable enemies to the French name. He was successful in his endeavours to remedy these disorders, and in the summer of the same year, he returned to Paris, carrying with him the esteem

esteem and affection, not only of the army, and of the conquered countries, but also of his own countrymen in Avignon, and even of the aristocrats themselves, who were obliged to own that he had acted like a worthy man.

The mission of Poultier, was eminently useful to the republick, as it afforded him an opportunity to detect a wide and complicated conspiracy, the centre of which lay in the sections of Paris. The stubborn resistance made by the ring-leaders, to the law of the 5th Fructidor, which provided for the permanence of two thirds of the National Convention in the next legislature, had been hitherto mistaken for a justifiable reluctance to a decree injurious to the sovereignty of the people. Poultier laid before the Convention, and the Committee of General Security, the intelligence he had procured on this subject during his abode in the south, and that the royalists might have timely notice, that their plot was now discovered, he wrote a letter to Réal, conductor of the *Journal des patriotes*, purporting, that *he had proofs of unquestionable authenticity, that the sections were under the influence of royalists; that the focus of the plot was to be found in Switzerland and Sardinia; and that the prime mover of the whole, was the baroness de Stael, wife of the Swedish minister.*

Poultier retained his seat as a member in the fourth legislature, and is now in the Council of Five Hundred. During the last two years, he has conducted

ducted the celebrated journal, entitled, *L'Ami des Loix*.

He is about forty years of age, rather inclined to elegance in his dress, and very affable, and polite in conversation.

PLET-BEAUPRÉ.

Nicholas Plet-Beaupré, was born at Sees, a small town in the department of L'Orne: his father was an inn-keeper, who happening to be in good circumstances, gave him a liberal education, and destined him for the church.

After the usual preliminary studies, in the college of Sees, he was sent to the university of Angers, where he was taught philosophy, and theology.

He made considerable progress while there, in learning of every kind, but when he returned home, he gave up all his *spiritual* prospects, and resisted the reiterated advice and sollicitations of his relations, to enter into holy orders.

He was about to follow the profession of the bar, when his father died, and left him a handsome fortune, which he had acquired by honest industry. This change, once more altered his intentions, and, strange to tell, he determined to encrease his fortune by the same pursuits that his parent had obtained it.

His manners, his behaviour, nay, his learning were of course far superiour to his station, and when the revolution took place, he soon distinguished himself

among his fellow citizens, by whom he was chosen an elector.

His patriotism, although considered violent by some, was, on the whole, enlightened, as it never allowed him to bend to any faction whatever.

On the election of the deputies for the constituent assembly, he had a great number of votes ; he failed however on this occasion, but he was employed first as an administrator of the district, and then of the department.

On the organization of the national guard, he was chosen a captain of grenadiers, and made the greatest exertions to enlist volunteers for the frontiers. This, added to his severity against the non-conforming priests, procured him a multitude of enemies, and made him undergo many humiliations, and even persecutions. He did not, however, succumb ; on the contrary, he obtained the summit of his wishes, which was to be a deputy to the legislature. There, alike faithful to his constituents and his principles, he kept himself aloof from the various parties who succeeded and destroyed each other.

On the trial of the king, Plet-Beaupré, who was the colleague of Dufriche-Valazé, like him, voted for the death of Louis, but with the restriction of an appeal to the people.

On the 9th of Thermidor, he was one of the six members who were sent at the head of the good citizens, to surround the *commune*, and on this critical occasion, he displayed an uncommon degree of firmness and courage.

Although Beaupré be but little known as a speaker in the tribune, he is considered as a man, who, amidst the most tremendous storms, has never deviated from the course which conducts to a republick; and one who will leave the legislative body with the consciousness of having honourably discharged his duty towards his country.

It is reported that he has acquired an immense fortune, and that he is now in possession of large estates, formerly belonging to the clergy. This, however, is not to be wondered at, as long previous to the revolution, Beaupré possessed an independent fortune, and was accustomed to contract with the government to furnish the cavalry with hay, straw, &c.

Plet-Beaupré, is a tall and handsome man, about seven and thirty years of age. His manner of living is that of an epicurean, but he is of that sort of epicureans, who compassionate the poor, and find their greatest pleasure in meliorating their miserable condition.

GOBEL.

The name of this man, will be recorded in the history of France, and ought of course to find a place here. Jean Baptiste Gobel, was originally grand-vicar to the bishop of Basil, for the French jurisdiction of his diocese, and had been decorated by the court of Rome, with the title of bishop of Lidda, *in partibus infidelium*.

At the memorable epoch of the revolution, he was appointed by the clergy of Franche-comté, a deputy to the states-general. In the constituent assembly, he sat for the department of the higher Rhine; much regard was paid to his sentiments, but he did not then act a considerable part. It is also a well known truth, that he was not at first entirely of the same opinion with his colleagues, who intended to seize the whole of the property of the clergy, and that he opposed the civick oath, which the constitution exacted from ecclesiastical dignitaries.

When the constituent assembly had finished its labours, Gobel was appointed constitutional bishop of Paris. He conducted himself with great decorum for some time, and it is notorious, that at the end of the year 1791, he addressed a pastoral letter to the *faithful* in his diocese, remarkable for its good sense, christian piety, and extensive learning. It was in short the best written by any of the bishops.

The Abbé Barruel, author of the "History of the Gallican clergy during the revolution," charges Gobel with the grossest inconsistencies, reproaches him with having taken the oath which he had at first reprobated, and with being always at variance with his own principles. But all this would have been insufficient to immortalize the name of Gobel, if he had not acted an infinitely more conspicuous part.

The insurrection of *La Vendée* originated, as it is well known, in superstitious principles. The priests too, in the other departments, having preached up a revolt, the minds of the mountaineers became highly

incensed against christianity, which they considered as the ultimate cause of their dangers, as if the abuse and the existence of religion had been necessarily connected with each other. A plan was accordingly formed to abolish it, and the two famous atheists, Anacharsis Cloots, and Chaumette, were at the head of the conspiracy.

They were well aware that this step would experience a general opposition on the part of the people, if they were not supported by the example and authority of the clergy; and accordingly, they associated in their project, some ecclesiastical dignitaries, and among others, the head of the Gallican church, the metropolitan bishop of Paris! Gobel fell into the snare, and on the memorable 7th of November, 1793, he presented himself at the bar of the convention, attended by his three grand vicars, and resigned his functions, stating, that there was no longer any need of religion, and that the only adoration of a people of philosophers, should be the *worship of reason*.

The intelligence of this event, was received at first with all the applause usually attached to an important novelty, especially in the midst of a revolution. The legislature itself was surprised into some imprudent steps. Gobel was highly honoured by the convention; he received the *accolade fraternelle* from the president, and a decree was actually enacted, that, the 7th of November, should be consecrated to the national festival of *reason*. The people of Paris, who for a time, were likewise infatuated, made
a pro-

a procession in honour of the new Deity, in which the famous Madame Momoro, a beautiful woman, represented the recently adopted goddess.

The convention soon perceived the folly of its proceedings, and another decree was enacted, declaring, "that the French people acknowledged the existence of the supreme being, and the immortality of the soul." Robespierre asserted on that occasion, that the resignation of Gobel was intended to throw an odium on the revolution, and to insinuate to all the nations of Europe, that France, by proclaiming atheism, had fallen into a state of dissolution.

Gobel was at length arrested, tried, and sent to the guillotine on the 13th of April 1794, amidst the execrations of all the factions. It is not known what were his real intentions; but the zealots of every party seemed to acknowledge, that on this occasion, Robespierre was in the right, and even the royalists comforted themselves afterwards by saying, "*if he has caused the death of so many worthy persons, he has at least swept away from the French soil, one of the scoundrels who most disgraced the French name.*"

It must be confessed, however, by every unprejudiced man, that no proofs of a conspiracy, were produced against the *ex-bishop*, and that he also was basely murdered.

HENRIOT.

This man, whose rise and fall were equally rapid and surprising, was born at Nanterre, near Paris, in 1761. Early in life, we find him the clerk of a turn-pike, at the gates of the metropolis; and he was a man of no degree of consideration whatever, during the first period of the revolution. No sooner, however, were the philosophers driven from office, than his turn of mind became perfectly congenial to the new system.

In consequence of his activity in the service of the national guards, and his continual vociferations in the sections of Paris, he was preferred by degrees to the supreme military command in the capital. From a lieutenancy, he procured a company; he was then appointed a major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, and when Santerre was sent to *La Vendée*, he became commander in chief. In this station he continued at the head of the *sans-culottes*, from April 1793 to July 1794, and performed prodigies in his way.

A violent and implacable enemy to every thing that favoured of aristocracy, he was the destroyer of all the monuments, tombs, paintings, and works of art, in Paris and its environs. The dilapidations at St. Cloud, Marli, Bellevue, &c. are owing solely to him; and it is reported, that when he set out for St. Denis to destroy them onuments of the ancient kings of France, he was always saying to his fellow-soldiers,

soldiers,—“ Allons ; que la massue nationale frappe les tyrans jusques dans leurs tombeaux *.”

It is also a fact, that at the head of his *sans-culottes*, he ran daily through the streets of Paris, and visited the shops where prints, maps, and engravings were sold, in order to destroy and burn all those which represented kings, nobles, and priests, or which exhibited emblems of nobility and coats of arms : nay, he entered all the booksellers shops also, tore the bindings of such works as were adorned with armorial bearings, and defaced the dedications and privilege of impression.

These marks of outrageous zeal obtained for Henriot the appellation of the *French Omar*. Indeed, from a report made to the National Convention by M. Gregoire, in the name of the Committee of Public Instruction, on the 9th *Vendémiaire* (3d year) it would appear that he had resolved to set fire to the national library in Paris, and that he kept up a correspondence with the *sans-culottes* of Marseilles, and other large towns in France, in order that all the other libraries throughout the republic might be involved in one common ruin. He must be allowed, however, to have been an ingenious and witty Vandal ; for, being accused in the club of the Jacobins, on account of this conduct, he not only did not disavow it, but valuing himself very much on his achievements, he exclaimed,—“ Yes ! I am firmly

* Come ! let the national mace smite the tyrants even in their tombs.

convinced that books occasion all the aberrations of the human mind. I would not only therefore set fire to the libraries, but I would have Horace and Virgil burnt before the rest, in the midst of a civick feast. These two ought indeed to perish by the hand of the common executioner: they are guilty of *leze-humanité*, by having flattered Augustus, a vile tyrant, and the destroyer of Roman liberty!"

Henriot must be allowed to have been always consistent in his inveterate hatred to learning and learned men. His speeches in the sections of Paris were so many philippicks against both; in short, he at length rendered the name of an author synonymous with that of an *aristocrat*. His constant maxim was, "mistrust a man who has published a book;" and he declared one night, in the jacobin club, that he had good reason for this, as he had always found the French literati *siers dans leurs écrits, et rampant dans les antichambres**.

This Goth is, however, thought to have been highly serviceable to the republick. During the reign of terrour, when so many atrocious measures were necessary to carry on the revolutionary government, a brutal man, like Henriot, was admirably calculated to beat down opposition, and ensure obedience. Had he not been general of the national guards at that time, it is a moot question, whether any other individual could have executed the laws

* Haughty in their writings, and cringing in the presence of the great.

respecting the compulsory paper, the maximum, the requisitions, the domiciliary visits, and the *guillotine ambulante* *.

Henriot's reign lasted until Robespierre's death, when his attachment to that cruel demagogue involved him in his ruin. It is recorded that on the famous 8th *Thermidor*, as soon as the tocsin was sounded by the municipality of Paris, with a view to save the tyrant, Henriot ran through all the streets of the metropolis, collecting his fellow soldiers, and exclaiming,—“ On opprime les patriotes † !”

The National Convention having got the better in the contest with the Robespierrian party, Henriot, jointly with his colleagues and accomplices, was guillotined at the *Place de la Révolution*, on the 10th of the same month, and in the 33d year of his age.

DURAND DE MAILLANE.

This respectable old man has acquired a high reputation in all Catholick countries on account of his *Dictionary of the Canon Law*, in four volumes 4to, published in 1771. He was formerly a professor in the famous university of Toulouse, and, on the convocation of the States General, was appointed deputy for the department of *Bouches du Rhône*.

Durand sat also in the Constituent Assembly, and became a striking example of the obscure

* Moveable guillotine.

† They oppress the patriots!

and inconsiderable part which men of profound learning and uncommon genius are generally condemned to act in popular assemblies, where moderate talents, joined to a volubility of language, are the qualifications that frequently lead to glory and renown.

Durand was the chairman of the ecclesiastical committee, a place which no one could fill with more propriety than himself.

Three things may be recorded here, which serve to evince the modesty of this deputy.

1st, Though he was acknowledged to be the member the best informed in respect to ecclesiastical learning, and was indeed the main-spring of the labours of the committee, he generally suffered the reports to be delivered by his colleagues, the Bishop of Autun, and the Abbé Gregoire.

2dly, If he himself chanced sometimes to appear as the organ of his associates, he allowed every deputy to oppose his opinions with an indifferece bordering on apathy; an instance of which occurred on July 1st, 1790, when his report on ecclesiastical foundations and patronages was objected to with great violence, by Camus and Treillard.

3dly, When the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was attacked, on its publication, by the priests and *aristocrats*,—scorning to take any notice of the numberless invectives uttered against the author, he contented himself with writing a pamphlet, entitled “An Apologetick History of the Ecclesiastical Committee of the National Assembly,” in which he

proved

proved how well he was qualified to conciliate *dogma* and *discipline*.

Durand de Maillane was appointed a deputy to the National Convention, and was included among the eleven commissioners appointed to compose and present the plan of the constitution of 1795.—The glory resulting from his labours was, as usual, reaped by others, such as Boissy d'Anglas, Cambacérès, &c. &c.

This representative is one of the few, who, by attaching themselves to no party, has obtained the esteem and affection of all the legislative body.

PACHE.

The human mind is probed by events, and therefore generally developed amidst the stormy and tempestuous agitations of a revolution. Critical periods operate like the spear of Ithuriel, and the hero or the monster are then laid bare, and exposed to the admiration or the hatred of mankind. It has been the fortune of some few characters, however, to defy detection, and to remain equivocal, even amidst the alternate triumphs and defeats of opposing factions.

Such, I apprehend, is the peculiar situation of the subject of these memoirs. If he be a hypocrite, as the Girondists term him, he must be allowed to have been the most consummate dissembler recorded in history; on the other hand, if he is a man uniformly virtuous, as his admirers pretend, it must be still
owned

owned that he has more than once afforded ample occasion for suspicion.

Pache is a man of obscure birth. His father was a domestick in the service of a nobleman, and having acquired the regard of the family by his excellent conduct, his son received an education at its expence. On attaining a proper age, he procured a situation under the Marshal de Castries, who afterwards placed him in the war-office. Having saved some money, and obtained a small pension from his patron, he resigned his employment, with a view to repair to Switzerland, in order to enjoy the pleasures of a rural life, to which he was devoted, and the domestick comforts arising out of the bosom of his little family.

Although still young, he had found means to acquire a high reputation for wisdom. M. Gibert, who considered him as a *phœnix*, introduced him to Mademoiselle Philipon, so celebrated afterwards under the name of Madame Roland, and it appears that she was captivated both with his modesty and understanding *. The

* Gibert étoit lié depuis l'enfance avec un homme pour lequel il professoit autant de vénération que d'attachement ; il vantoit son mérite dans l'occasion, et il étoit glorieux d'en être l'ami. Gibert ne tarda pas beaucoup à me parler de son phénix ; il sembloit qu'il ne seroit heureux que lorsque son ami et moi pourrions nous admirer réciproquement ; enfin il nous réunit à dîner chez lui. Je vis un homme dont l'excessive simplicité alloit jusqu'à la négligence ; parlant peu, ne fixant personne, il eût été difficile à juger sur une entrevue pour quiconque n'auroit jamais entendu faire mention de lui ; et j'avoue que, malgré mon goût tout particulier pour le ton modeste, celui de cet homme étoit si humble, que je l'aurois volontiers pris au mot sur son propre compte. Cependant,

The mountains of Switzerland at length resounded with the news of a revolution in France, and the hearts of men of learning and humanity, in all countries, beat high with the expectations arising out of that memorable event. Pache instantly returned to the capital, and, in concert with Meuniers and Monge, instituted a popular society in the section of Luxembourg, the avowed objects of which were the spread of knowledge and the cultivation of the civick virtues. In these occupations he was particularly assiduous, and appeared to dedicate to his country, as a citizen, all the time he did not bestow on the education of his children.

At last he began to emerge from obscurity.— In 1792, the celebrated and unfortunate Roland was invited by the King to accept a place in the administration. On this occasion the wife of the new minister of the home department, always anxious to forward the interests of her friends, introduced her old acquaintance, Pache, to her husband. The place

dant, comme il ne manquoit ni de jugement, ni de quelques connoissances, on lui savoit plus de gré d'en montrer lorsqu'il venoit à les faire entrevoir, et l'on finissoit, comme Gibert, par lui en croire beaucoup plus qu'il n'en avoit effectivement. Sa femme peu signifiante, mais sensible, rappeloit toujours *l'intentique ora tenebant* de Virgile, quand elle regardoit parler son mari. Ce n'est pourtant pas un être tout-à-fait ordinaire que celui qui fait en imposer ainsi, même à ceux qui le fréquentent, sur la mesure de son mérite effectif; il faut qu'il soit grand en quelque chose, du moins en dissimulation; et si les circonstances l'interressent à la pousser aussi loin qu'il soit possible dans les affaires importantes, il peut devenir de faux sage qui usurpoit l'estime, scélérat aux dépens de ses contemporains. L'histoire en fera juger par la suite."

Appel à l'impartiale Postérité.

of first secretary was immediately offered to him, but he replied, that being desirous to retain his independence, he could not accept of any salary, but would willingly lend his services for the advancement of the common cause. He accordingly repaired to Roland's closet, every morning at seven o'clock, with a morsel of bread in his pocket, and remained there until three, disregarding fatigue, and applying himself unremittingly to business.

When Servan was appointed to the war department, he looked around for a confidential person, and at last fixed his eyes on Pache. He accordingly applied to Roland, informed him how much he envied him the possession of so faithful an assistant, conjured him to part with him, and concluded by saying, "let this honest man come and live with me."

Roland gave his assent, and Pache entered the office of the minister at war expressly on the same terms as he had continued in that of the home department—without any official appointment, and without any pecuniary benefit whatever.

At length the intrigues of Dumouriez put an end to the administration, which could alone have saved France from all her subsequent calamities; and suspended, if not evaded the fate of the King. On this occasion Pache returned to his section, and resumed his station as a private man, with a character famed for disinterestedness, and the reputation of considerable talents. It is not a little remarkable, however, considering his subsequent conduct, that when Roland read the famous letter to the King, immediately before

before his dismission, his friend (for so he deemed him at that period) seemed to consider it as far too bold.

The events that occurred on the 10th of August occasioned the recall of the patriotick ministers, and Pache was offered the superintendence of the jewel-office, as well as several other honourable situations, all of which he declined. He resided, however, for short time in a publick capacity at Toulon, but he is said to have conducted himself in such a manner as to give but little satisfaction.

A more splendid appointment at last presented itself, and was instantly accepted. When Servan quitted the war-office, on account of his health, Pache was nominated to succeed him, and of course had a seat at the council board.

On the trial of Louis XVI. he is said to have *canvassed* publicly for his death*. Whatever opinion may prevail, respecting the guilt or innocence

* Dumouriez, when drawing the characters of the men who composed the administration of that day, expresses himself thus: "On the other side was Pache, minister of war, a man of sense, and possibly an honest man, but ignorant and blindly devoted to the Jacobin party. He had a wife and daughter equally ugly and ill tempered, who frequented the clubs and even the haunts of the Marseillois, to demand the King's death. The war office was become a club, breathing nothing but blood and carnage. The clerks always wore the red cap at their desks, and used the phrases *thou* and *thee* to every one, even to the minister, who himself affected a slovenly dress, and courted the Parisian populace, by assuming their manners."

of that monarch, this conduct was equally scandalous and criminal on the part of a minister.

The talents of Pache were unequal to his new situation. He was active, zealous, indefatigable, and would have made an excellent clerk, but he was an indifferent minister. Dumouriez, indeed, attributes his defeats principally to him, and censures not only his incapacity, but accuses him of a premeditated design of starving the armies. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the conduct of this general was criminal in the extreme, and that he found it necessary to throw part of the odium that attached to himself on those whom he considered as his enemies*.

It was found necessary, at last, that the minister should retire from the war department. His interest with the Jacobins was, however, too great to remain long out of employment, and he was accordingly appointed mayor of Paris, in which capacity he forwarded all the schemes of the *terrorists*.

Pache seems to have possessed but little gratitude; for he calmly looked on and beheld the judicial massacre of his best and dearest friends. He is even accused by Madame Roland with being the calumniator of her husband, and the bitterest of her own persecutors!

* A small volume, containing the correspondence between the general and the minister, has been published.

POMEREUL,

Is an officer, who unites a taste for letters and the fine arts, with the profession of arms. He served many years in France, in the corps of artillery, which at all times was considered as a body possessed of great scientific attainments, but which, in the course of the present war, has acquired an extraordinary degree of pre-eminence.

Science and philosophy are naturally favourable to liberty: the reason is self-evident, they are but other names for knowledge, and it is ignorance alone that both generates and tolerates slavery.— This is a truth of which the zealots of despotism are well convinced, and when they rail at what they are pleased to term the *new philosophy*, they but pay an unwilling tribute to the progress of the human mind.

The fanatical Abbé Barruel terms Voltaire and all the learned men of France during the reign of Louis XV. *Jacobins*. Pomereul was one of those dreadful conspirators, and like most of them too was also an Encyclopedist. The principal articles of the grand *Encyclopédie* on the Artillery, that important branch of modern military science, are drawn up by him; and it was he who composed the whole of the *Dictionnaire d'Artillerie*, in l'*Encyclopédie Méthodique*.

In 1787 he was sent to Naples in order to instruct troops, who at that period were perhaps the most

ignorant of any in Europe. Notwithstanding his appointments, which were very considerable, he did not affect to exhibit any pomp, or display that fantastical vanity, so common, I had almost said so natural to the officers of the *old school*. On the contrary, he lived like a philosopher, a man of letters, and a friend to the fine arts.

France having shaken off her chains, a coalition was of course formed against her liberty, which speedily ended in a conspiracy against her territories. Ferdinand IV. sovereign of the Two Sicilies, is a Bourbon, his consort *Maria-Charlotta*, an arch-duchess of Austria; Acton, the *favourite* of the latter, and the political Mentor of both, at that time presided over their councils—the rest is known to every one.

No sooner had the court of Naples declared itself hostile to his native country, than Pomereul determined to resign all his employments. It was in vain that the most flattering offers were made to him. He refused the command of the troops, landed estates equal to those he possessed at home, crosses, ribands, and even employments for his children. His conduct on this occasion gave offence, and it is but seldom that arbitrary power is offended with impunity. He was accordingly imprisoned, and did not recover his liberty until the progress of the French arms in the south had inspired terreur into all the Italian cabinets.

No sooner had he acquired his freedom than he repaired to the Tuscan territories, where, to his inexpressible

expressible astonishment, he learned that his name was included in the list of emigrants!

Pomereul, who was lately at Florence, has written a dissertation on the fine arts, in which he conjures his countrymen not to erect schools for painting and statuary.

He observes, in the first place, that it is probable the Greeks did not possess any institutions of this kind, and to this seeming deficiency he attributes the superiour excellence of their painters and sculptors. Their artists were formed by studying nature under the great masters. Appelles, as every one knows, had pupils, and requested Alexander not to speak relative to his art in presence of the boys who mixed his colours, lest they should laugh at him.

2. On the revival of the fine arts in Italy, no *general school* was instituted. A rivalry was indeed in some degree happily maintained between different cities; but each seems to have produced only one or two great men, such as Raphael in the Roman school, Michael Angelo in that of Florence, Titian in that of Venice, Corregio in that of Parma, and the Carrachi in that of Bologna. Their successors have been mere imitators of these great masters.

3. The numerous courtezans of Greece served as models to the artists of that country, who did not copy from pictures or statues, like those of the present day; and it is here jocularly hinted that the modern Laïses and Playnes of Paris would exhibit

as fine features and limbs as any of those studied by the ancient painters and sculptors.

One of his friends who travelled through Italy along with Pomereul, some years before the revolution, relates the following anecdote:

“ One day we happened to visit a part of the country covered with monuments of the Roman grandeur; on observing these vestiges Pomereul exclaimed—‘ It is only a free nation that could have conceived and executed these astonishing publick works, of which we now admire the remains. A republick in France! and we shall soon behold in that beloved country, similar aqueducts, baths, and amphitheatres, rearing their heads towards the skies!’ He spoke thus at a time when the idea of a commonwealth had not yet entered into the imagination of his countrymen.”

By this time Pomereul's name is doubtless struck out of the list of emigrants, and he has revisited his native country.

LEPELLETIER.

Louis Michael Lepelletier de St. Fargeau, better known since the revolution by the name of Lepelletier only, was born at Paris on the 29th of May 1760. His family was both opulent and noble, and he himself, like many of his ancestors who had held high offices under the state, was bred to the profession of the law. Rising by degrees, he at length

obtained the honourable office of *Président à Mortier* of the parliament of Paris, a body that still dared to utter the language of truth in the presence of its tyrants, when the rest of the nation was reduced by despotism to silence and subjection.

During the disputes between the court and the parliament, he always sided with the popular party, and was zealous in his opposition to the fiscal tyranny introduced by modern ministers. He thus became fitted, by long and painful struggles in the cause of liberty, for the revolution that ensued, and at the meeting of the states-general, was appointed a deputy from the nobility of Paris.

In the national assembly he distinguished himself by the graces, the precision, and the lucid arrangement of his speeches. The night of the 4th of August 1789, celebrated in the annals of France by the abolition of all exclusive privileges, furnished him with a favourable occasion to display at one and the same time his eloquence and his disinterestedness.

This sacrifice, added to the uniformity of his attachment to the cause of liberty from his early youth, rendered him exceedingly popular, and the department of Yonne deemed itself peculiarly fortunate in having him for one of its deputies in the national convention.

Persuaded that energetick measures could alone prevent the return of monarchy, and ensure the salvation of France, he placed himself on the very *summit of the Mountain*, and aided the Jacobins (who

(who had as yet abstained from the blood of their fellow-citizens) with all his influence*.

On the trial of the king, he voted for his punishment, and whatever may be the particular opinion of any one, it would be unfair to suppose that Lepelletier, on this solemn occasion, for the first time of his life, should have been actuated by improper motives.

His conduct on that day, however, proved fatal to him, for on the very evening of the execution a royalist struck him a mortal wound with a poniard, and then effected his escape.

This circumstance, of course, made a great noise in the capital, and no small degree of activity was displayed by the police in discovering the name of the assassin, and tracing him out. He was called Paris, and his corpse was found a few days after this event; for, being apprehensive of detection, and certain in that case of punishment, he had shot himself with a pistol. An extract from his baptismal register, and a *brevet* as one of the late king's guards, were found in his pocket; these were accompanied

* The Royalists have of course endeavoured to traduce him, by assigning his conduct to interested motives, notwithstanding his whole life tends to prove this to be a calumny. While speaking of the revolution, he is reported to have said—"Quand on a 600,000 livres de rente & qu'on est noble, il faut être à la crete de la montagne, ou à Coblentz."—(When a man has 600,000 livres a year, and is noble, he ought either to be on the very peak of the mountain, or at Coblentz.)

with a paper, written in approbation of the horrid deed *.

In the mean time, great preparations were made for the interment of Lepelletier. David the painter superintended the ceremony, and it was studiously calculated, that all the emblems exhibited during the solemnity should inspire the beholders with a detestation of that royalty, of which he was considered as the victim. In addition to this, the section in which he had resided was called by his name, the legislature attended his funeral in a body, and the expences of it were paid by the nation †.

BILLAUD

* “Je n'ai point eu de complice dans la belle action que j'ai faite en donnant la mort au scélérat St. Fargeau. Si je ne l'avois pas trouvé sous ma main, j'aurois purgé la terre du monstre, du parricide d'Orleans.”—(I had no accomplice in the noble action performed by me, in putting to death the villain St. Fargeau. If I had not found him at hand, I would have purged the earth of the monster, the parricide Orleans.)

The four following lines were written on the back of his commission:

“ Sur ce brevet d'honneur, je l'écris sans effroi,

— “ Je l'écris à l'instant où je quitte la vie ;

“ François, j'ai frappé l'assassin de mon roi,

“ C'étoit pour m'arracher à votre ignominie.”

† On Tuesday, January 22, the National Convention passed a decree, that Louis-Michael-Lepelletier should be buried on the 24th, at eight o'clock in the morning, and Chenier having been appointed to bring in a report on this subject, delivered the following speech :

Rapport de Chenier sur les honneurs funebres à rendre à Pelletier-Saint-Fargeau.

Citoyens, vous leguez à la postérité de grands souvenirs et de grands exemples ; mais depuis que le peuple François a brisé le joug du

BILLAUD DE VARENNES.

This deputy was originally a monk, having been brought up within the walls of a cloister.

He

du despotisme, ses annales révolutionnaires n'offrent pas une époque aussi imposante, que celle où nous avons vu presque au même instant, un ami de la liberté tomber sous le fer des assassins, et un tyran frappé du glaive de la loi.

Quel étoit donc le monstrueux pouvoir de la royauté, si du fond de sa prison et dans son agonie même, elle immoloit encore les fondateurs de la république.

Toutefois, ce reste de fanatisme et d'idolâtrie, que la royauté expirante laisse au sein des hommes criminels ou pusillanimes, bien loin de vous effrayer, vous affermira dans la route que vous devez suivre. Le Pelletier, immortalisé par son assassin, vous montre la palme civique des martyrs de la liberté. Il vient de prendre place entre les Barneveldt et les Sidney. Son sort paraîtra digne d'envie à tous les vrais républicains, et les honneurs dont vous récompensez sa mémoire, lui donneront des successeurs qui, comme lui, comme vous, citoyens, sauront tout sacrifier à la nation souveraine, et dans les circonstances les plus graves, environnés de périls et d'orages, considéreront toujours la liberté, le devoir et jamais la vie.

Ce n'est point ici une mort vulgaire. Les funérailles doivent porter un caractère particulier. Que la superstition s'abaisse devant la religion de la liberté? Que les images vraiment saintes, vraiment solennelles parlent aux cœurs attendris.

Que le corps de notre vertueux collègue, découvert à tous les yeux, laisse voir sa blessure mortelle?

Qu'une inscription retrace avec une énergique simplicité, le glorieux motif de sa mort!

Que le fer paricide, sacrifié par le sang d'un patriote, étincelle à notre vue comme un témoignage des fureurs de la tyrannie et de ses vils adorateurs?

Que

He was a native of Paris, and a father of the *oratory*, a religious fraternity, which, that of Port Royal alone excepted, became the most celebrated of all the orders, in the history of French literature.

Billaud had made himself acquainted with the science of politicks long before the period of the revolution, and when that event occurred, he was already the author of a great many publications on that subject.

Two of his works deserve particular mention. The first is entitled—"Patriotick ideas on a national education;" it was printed in the year 1790; the second—"L'Acéphocratie, or a federative government the best for a large empire."

In one of these Billaud endeavours to prove, that the religious orders ought to be intrusted with the education of youth; and in the other, that federalism was the properest government for France. This was the same Billaud who became, two or three years

Que les vêtemens ensanglantés frappent les regards des citoyens !
Qu'ils prononcent d'avance contre l'assassin de la patrie. On verra
marcher devant nous l'image de la liberté, seul objet des hommages
républicains, et les bannières de la déclaration des droits, fondement
sacré des constitutions populaires.

Le génie de David animera ces faibles esquisses, tandis que le
génie de Goffec, fera rétentir les sons de cette harmonie lugubre et
touchante, qui caractérise une mort triomphale. Ainsi Michel le
Pelletier, accompagné de ses vertus, entouré de sa famille en pleurs,
au milieu de la convention nationale, du conseil exécutif, des ad-
ministrateurs et des juges, dépositaires de la loi, s'avancera vers le
Panthéon François, où la reconnoissance nationale a fixé sa place.
C'est là que nous déposerons les restes de notre estimable Collegue ;
c'est là, citoyens, que nous déposerons les fatales préventions qui
nous divisent, &c.

after, the most inveterate enemy of both monks and federalists !

Our ex-friar, who left the cloister soon after the decrees of the National Assembly had produced the first reform in the ecclesiastical policy of France, discovered a marked predisposition to forward the success of the revolution. He was one of the patriots who assembled in the *Champ de Mars*, on the famous 28th of July 1791, and he narrowly escaped being killed by the soldiers, conducted thither by M. La Fayette.

The 10th of August may perhaps be considered as the most awful event in the history of the French revolution. We do not find, however, that all the particulars of that day are as yet disclosed. One of the most important occurrences, was the sudden change which took place in the government of Paris. The sections of the capital, influenced by the more violent patriots, in three hours time dismissed the old municipal officers, who were slow in their exertions, and replaced them by active and energetick men.— It was this new municipality that overturned the throne.

Billaud de Varennnes had been one of the most active in effecting the change ; it was natural enough therefore that he should be included among the revolutionary magistrates.

While in this situation, he was accused of being one of the promoters of the massacres of the 2d and 3d of September. It was even reported, that the whole business was conducted by him, in conjunction with

with Tallien, secretary of the commune, and Méhée, first clerk in the same office. This horrid deed is still involved in darkness ; but the guilt of the ex-monk is more than equivocal.

While a member of the National Convention, he perched himself on the very top of the mountain, and was called “a terrorist,” and a “drinker of human blood,” by the moderate party. Of course, he soon became a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and one of the decemvirs.

So much has been already said about his colleagues, Robespierre, St. Just, Barrere, &c. that it would be superfluous to enter into further details. A particular fact is, however, deserving of notice. Billaud never loved Robespierre, from the moment that the latter had thrown out some hints of his intention to supersede the sittings of the National Convention, in order to enable the committee to act with less responsibility ; and more especially since he had usurped a dictatorial authority over the committee itself.

It is but little astonishing, therefore, that this deputy should have contributed to the 9th Thermidor. It was he, indeed, who furnished his colleagues with the most convincing proofs of the execrable tyranny of Robespierre, and thus induced them to get rid of that monster.

No sooner, however, was the one deprived of power, than the other was exposed to every sort of contumely. Epigrams, lampoons, reproaches, accusations, multiplied against him on all sides ; and unless one had been in Paris, during the autumn of 1794, and the

winter of 1795, it is impossible to conceive an idea of the insults to which he was subjected. He was called by no other name than "*le tigre de Varennes*;" and the "heart of Billaud," was converted into a proverb of reproach.

The journal entitled, "*L'Orateur du Peuple*," belonging to the representative Freron, completed the ruin of Billaud, and became the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes. It was reported in Paris, among the best informed people, that M. Duffault, the celebrated translator of Juvenal, and now the *dean* of the national institute, was then conductor of that journal; and that he was actuated by a personal animosity against Billaud.

Be this as it may, the latter was at last accused along with Barrere and Collot, and a commission of twelve members appointed to examine their conduct.

This commission proceeded very slowly, and two months passed away before any report was delivered in.

The conduct of Billaud, during this emergency, was quite different from that of his two colleagues. Whilst they employed the whole weight of their talents and interest to oppose the stream, he beheld the contest with the most singular indifference. At last, on the famous 12th Germinal, no regard being paid to the constitutional laws, they were all three condemned to be transported to Cayenne, without any previous trial.

Billaud, who had spoke but little during the whole of the prosecution, in the course of that sitting indulged

indulged himself in a sally, which, while it atoned for his past silence, affords no bad specimen of the liveliness of his countrymen. No sooner was the sentence of transportation read, than turning to the president of the Convention :

“ *Allons, président !*” said he, “ *à la longue il n’y restera que la sonnette **.”

The three deputies were immediately sent to Rochefort, in order to embark for the place of their exile ; but as no opportunity of a speedy conveyance occurred, they were confined in prison.

Soon after this, an injunction was issued to the criminal department of Saintonge, to try them for treason ; and lastly, to complete the series of irregularities, they were once more ordered to be transported. In the mean time Barrere was lucky enough to make his escape, but Billaud and Collot were sent off in September 1795.

Billaud de Varennes, like Anacharsis Cloots, sighed for the liberty and regeneration of all Europe. He was a strenuous protector of the foreign patriots residing in Paris. He kept up a regular correspondence with the Belgian, Dutch, German, and Italian refugees. Some Genoese and Piemontese gentlemen, who had been forced to fly from their native country, were employed by him in the principality of Oneglia, and other countries, conquered from the king of Sardinia, since the year 1793. But he was averse that any of them

* Proceed, president ! in a short time, nothing will be left here but your bell.

should serve in the French armies. "It is unworthy of a great nation," said he, "to employ foreigners to consolidate her liberty; nor is it political that the destinies of France should be committed to them who were not born Frenchmen."

Billaud is now about fifty years of age, and, in respect to his person, is remarkable for nothing but his long black hair, a circumstance not forgotten by the Parisian *muscadins*, who converted "La crinière noire de Billaud de Varennes" into a sarcasm.

GOUPII-PRÉFELN,

Was born at Argenteau, a small town in the department of L'Orne, and, like the greater part of the founders of the republick, was brought up to the bar. He had acquired but little celebrity, however, and perhaps would never have been known, had not the revolution opened the gates of the temple of Fame, and Goupil entered along with the crowd.

In the assemblies of the bailliages, Goupil distinguished himself above all the other electors by a degree of publick spirit, which was then quite novel, and which obtained for him the name of a *Democrat*. He, however, procured no inconsiderable degree of popularity, by inveighing against the nobles and the clergy; and he succeeded so well in his plans, that both he and his son-in-law, M. de Courmeuil, a lawyer also, were elected members of the Constituent Assembly.

There

There Goupil first made himself known by several bold motions, which the members of the *côté gauche* were inclined to support, but which they did not dare to make themselves.

During the first legislature there was a kind of political society called *Bouche de Fer* (the Iron Mouth) which met in the middle of the enclosure of the *Palais Royal*. Goupil, and Fauchet the constitutional Bishop of Calvados, were the founders of this club, and at appointed times delivered publick lectures, with a view to prepare the minds of the people for the measures intended to be adopted in the National Assembly. Indeed, there was hardly a single motion of consequence brought forward in the constituent legislature, which was not either made or vigourously supported by Goupil.

During the Robespierrean tyranny he was obliged to conceal himself on account of his reputed wealth: it was then criminal to be rich.

Goupil was returned to the National Convention in 1795.

In Fructidor last, his name was inserted in the roll of proscriptions, and was not erased until the next day: nay, even since that memorable period, it has been included once more in the list of emigrants, either through mistake or injustice, and it was actually with some difficulty that he procured it to be again rescinded.

Goupil is more than sixty years old, and rather short in stature; his face is animated; his elocution easy, and he is extremely bold in his opinions. In the
middle

middle of a speech, he will take a phial filled with wine from his pocket, after emptying of which, he continues his oration with renewed vigour and increased energy.

VOLNEY.

This is a name formidable to priestcraft, tyranny, and superstition: for all these have been unveiled and laid open by him, not with a rude and ignorant—for that they could have survived—but with a skilful and scientifick hand, which, like the heroes of Homer, has inflicted the deadly blow in the precise spot where it was most likely to prove mortal.

In his youth, M. Volney was a great traveller, and it may be said of him, as of Ulysses,—

“Multorum videt Urbes et Hominum.”

In 1784 he wrote, and in 1787 published, his first work, entitled “*Voyage en Syrie*.” He was employed on the celebrated tract, which has already passed through many editions in French, and two in English,—“*Les Ruines, ou Méditations sur les Révolutions des Empires*,” when a revolution occurred in his own country, which in a manner embodied his ideas, and gave to his imaginary reforms “a local habitation and a name.” This great work was published in August 1791, and, being admirably calculated for the peculiar situation of his compatriots, although the idea had been first conceived in 1784, it was universally read and praised.

In 1789, M. Volney was appointed one of the deputies to the States-General, afterwards better known under the name of the *National Assembly*, and it must be confessed, that neither ancient nor modern times has ever presented an instance of so many men of talents met together to deliberate on the fate of an empire, and to prescribe a new destiny, not to their native country only, but perhaps to mankind.

Volney purchased large estates, and resided some time in Corsica; but he soon found that country as little profitable to individuals as it had been to nations, for it was a burden to, and nearly proved the destruction of Genoa; France preserved her dominion over it, at an enormous expence, and to England it has been a source of ruin, vexation, and disgrace.

When the National Convention looked around in order to select the ablest instructors for the *Normal School*, the author of the *Ruins* was immediately pitched upon as professor of history, and I have now before me a work by him, in this capacity, entitled, *Analyse du Cours d'Histoire du Citoyen Volney, professeur à l'Ecole Normale*.

One anecdote respecting this man ought not to be forgotten, as posterity will hereafter be inclined to dwell on the sacrifice made during an age termed *venal*, by the inhabitant of a country generally considered as *vain*. It is well known that a great Northern Princess, while she kept whole nations in the most humiliating bondage, and became, in respect to the human race, a "defaulter of unaccounted millions," endeavoured to attach men of letters to her interest,
and

and make learning and genius the accessories of her numerous crimes. The massacres of Ismael and Praga stand in need of extenuation, and these and many other foul spots have been attempted to be extinguished in a blaze of factitious glory!

For this purpose, her Imperial Majesty wished to *subsidize* writers of celebrity, by means of pensions and presents, and, among others, Volney received a most superb medallion, on the reverse of which appeared an equestrian figure of the Czar Peter the Great, trampling on the snakes of envy and revenge.

It was no doubt flattering to a young man, and a writer just rising into esteem, to be thus countenanced by Catharine II. But as he could not capitulate with his conscience, no sooner had the Empress declared herself inimical to the French revolution, than he returned the present to her ambassador, accompanied by a note, in which he stated, "that a citizen of regenerated France could not retain any thing appertaining to the enemy of his country!"

Volney was lately in America, where he lived in great intimacy with Washington, and all the celebrated men of that continent. The enemies of peace and of liberty rejoiced to see him and Priestley enter the lists, and prepare for battle: but they were disappointed; for, after *breaking a lance* in the manner of the combatants of the middle ages, they immediately withdrew from the tournament.





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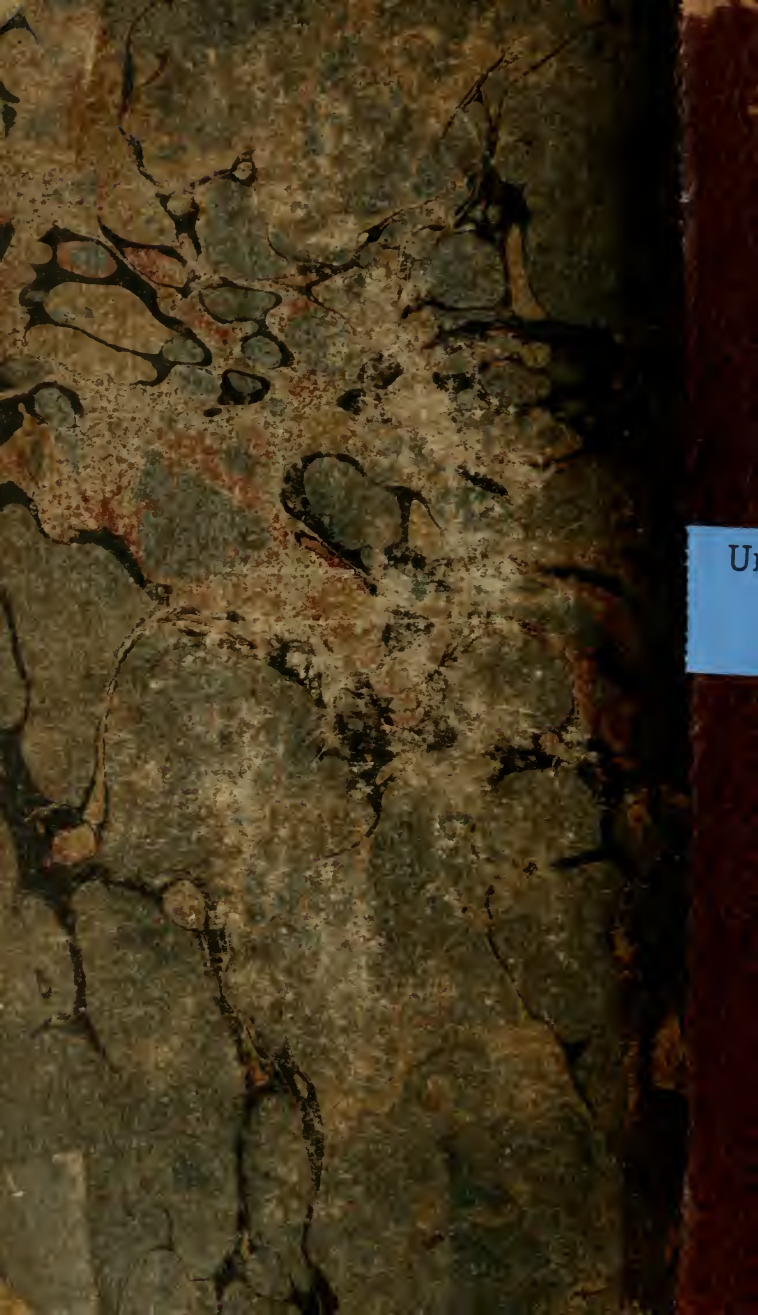
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